National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. Without Concealment....Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } CORRESPONDING EDITORS.

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Selections.

From The Independent.

SPEECH OF HENRY WARD BEECHER

BEFORE THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY,

New York, May 6th, 1851.

[CONCLUDED.]

It seems as if the devil could not stay quietly in hell, but must do as he always has done, wander up and down through the earth, and so at last he found himself at Washington: but there he came out, unfortunately, with hoofs, tail, horns, and all, not in the disguise of an angel of light, but in the form of the Fugitive Slave Law.

There is nothing, I think, that has come *so near* to making an impassable gulf between the South and the North as this Fugitive Slave Law. I am opposed to this Fugitive Slave Law in the first place, because of the inhumanity of what it compels us to do. If a convict, whose time was just out at the State Prison, should escape, I should not feel exactly like catching him and sending him back, yet still I might do it and not feel very badly, and I would do it if I was called upon for the sake of the Union—(laughter) for I love the Union, and I do not yield to any one in my love for the Union, not even to the members of the Union Safety Committee! But this law demands—what! Not merely the sending back of a fugitive from unrequitted work—to a meager fare—to physical discomfort. Slavery is a State of mental and moral bondage, worse than any mere bondage of muscle possibly can be. This is a point of conscience with me as a Christian. I cannot, I will not. I would myself sooner die than force, or in the most indirect manner, countenance the rendition of a man back to a bondage which crushes his *manhood*, robs his intellect, enfeebles his moral nature, and while cheating him in respect to Time, sends him blindfold and stumbling headlong into Eternity! This law says that I must take a woman, who has just escaped panting from Slavery, who has just begun to breathe the air of freedom, and send her back to the shambles of lust, where men may look at their slaves as they do at brutes, where there is no religion for the slave, no sacred marriage, no law, no schools, no honor, and no protection—back to the heated and seething waves of damnation. It is this the Fugitive Slave Law asks us to do, and we have ministers of the gospel who preach to us that this is Christianity! I do not say this in anger, God forbid! but in shame. God judge between them and the oppressed!

There are two ways of sending fugitives back into Slavery. Paul gives an account of one way—the way he sent back the slave Onesimus. Now if people will adopt Paul's way I would not object. In the first place, he instructed him in Christianity, and led him to become a Christian. Then he wrote a letter and sent it *by* Onesimus. He did not send the slave off under the charge of officers, but he went back alone, of his own free will, with a letter and recommendation as a brother beloved. Now I should like to see Marshal Devins and Marshal Somebody else of this city send back slaves in this way. In the first place the marshal would take him and teach him the catechism, pray with and convert him, and then write a letter to his master telling him to receive him as a brother beloved; and then the slave goes of his own free will to his master, and walks into the house, and with his broad, black beaming face says, "How d'ye do, my brother, and how d'ye do, my sister?" (Applause.)

There are venerable clergymen, old and wise men, they are called,—and you would presume from what they say that they are *very* old, and I do not know as they will think, that young as I am, I ought to say what I have,—who have a good deal to say about sending back this slave Onesimus as an example for us. I wish it could be made the example. I would like to see it followed. I would like to see the marshals sitting down to convert some fugitive slaves; and I would not speak disrespectfully of those clergymen, for I have respect for them *in spots*. (Laughter.) And I wish that this letter of Paul's would be published by the American Tract Society, and sent all over the Union. (Cheers.)

I object to the law also because it commands me to do what is essentially wrong. If it is right to send back Long and Simms, it is right to send back Dr. Pennington, a minister of the gospel, who has received a doctorate from a German university—not that the doctorate makes him any better man, for a doctorate is of about much use as a butment to a church—a man who was a member of Dr. Cox's church; I say, if it is right to send Long back, it is right to send Dr. Pennington back. What would Dr. Cox say to this, and Dr. Cox ought to know all about this great subject, for he has been on all sides of it; and I do not know but Dr. Pennington would be sent back, unredeemed as he is; and he is obliged now to stay in England, protected by monarchical England from the oppression of *democratic* America. Say, would any one send Dr. Pennington back? (A voice, "I would;" another, "I too;" another, "I 3.") Would any man *in his senses* send him back? (Great applause.)

Thirdly, I am amazed at the Fugitive Slave Law, because it is so utterly unfit for the object for which it was made. The old law did not send back the slaves, not one per cent. of all that escaped. No more does the new law. Perhaps you are not aware, my friends, that there is an underground railroad running through this city. I am not a conductor on it, (cheers,) but I hear of it, and I understand that there are forty slaves who go up on it, to one who goes back. But the fault is not in the law. The old law was weak through the flesh, and the new one proves just the same. (Cheers.) This case is something like that of fishing. Now my father is a good fisherman, a very expert one, while *I* know nothing about it, and it makes no difference whether I hold an old stick for a pole with a crooked pin for a hook, or an elegant brass-feruled extension rod with a fly scientifically fixed. I cannot in either case catch any fish. I cannot catch any with the bent pin, and it would do no good to give me the fly. So it is with the law. The South could not catch their slaves with the old law, and so they went to work to manufacture a new one, complete in all its parts—a perfect, elegant, brass-feruled law—but after all they won't do any better with the new law. The trouble is not in the *law*—*that* was good enough before—they have a bad fishing-ground! (Cheers.) If a man was sick with the cholera, and should give a dose of medicine to his horse, that would not do *him* much good. So in this case. It was the *public sentiment* that was sick, and they've been dosing the *law*. (Repeated cheers.)

My next objection to the Fugitive Slave Law is, that it stirs up ill blood where we cannot afford to have it stirred up. It does this by its wording. It seems as if it was worded especially to insult the North. A man once, describing a minister at the West, said—"He preaches as if he had the devil in him—why, he pitches out the promises of God with a pitchfork." And so this law deals—and the pitchfork it uses is no common pitchfork, but one, it would seem, imported from the pit below. (Cheers.)

Fourthly, This law takes away or abridges the liberty of freemen. We know little about the terror that it has sent among the free colored population of the North—how it has scattered them like partridges in the mountains before the shot of the hunter. Families have fled from places where they were comfortably and respectably established and held property. The free colored people have felt no security for their liberty. They have feared that they would be sent to Slavery courts, before Slavery judges, with Slavery witnesses, to be tried in regard to their right to liberty. But no—I will not sneer—I take that back; for it seems to me I would sooner trust a Southern court than a Northern one. I think that in the matter of slaves the Southern courts have generally been fairer than those of the North.

And fifthly, this law obliges the citizens to do that which they can not conscientiously do. It comes to me and says, Henry Ward Beecher, you *must do this*. If I call upon you you must assist as a good citizen in returning this runaway. And because last night I received into my house a poor, wandering, famishing woman, and gave her meat to eat, and water to drink, and a place to rest—because I befriended and protected her—it comes and lays its strong hand on me for doing that which Christ commanded, and if I am too poor to pay the fine, it throws me into prison. To be sure no such cases have occurred, and I pray God they may not occur, but they *can* occur; and the man that executes the law in this point, let him beware how he meets his victim at the day of judgment! The law is bad enough in obliging the *officers* to execute it, but when it comes down among the citizens, when it forbids us helping a man to liberty, I say, God do so to me, and more also, if I do not help him freedomward! (Great applause.) I say this was not good brotherhood in the South—this was not kind, the course of Christian policy was not to irritate feeling. It was their duty to be forbearing, it was our duty to be forbearing—for the sake of the Union—and I do not say this in the miserable cant of the Union Safety Committee, who are upholding a mere Union of self-interest, but I mean the glorious Union that was made by our fathers for liberty, the Union for freedom, the Union for Christianity. But this law was fired right in the face of the North, in the face of the moral feeling of the North—it was a bombarding of the North—park after park of artillery—and the cannoneer, alas! was one who fired at his own hearthstone! And this great man, not many years ago, made a prediction at Niblo's Garden. He said, in effect, that this subject of Slavery had arrested the religious feelings of the country, that it had taken strong hold on the consciences of men, that it is not to be trifled with or despised, and that any attempt to coerce it into silence, to compress and confine it, warm as it is, would assuredly cause an explosion, which would endanger the Constitution and the Union itself. Ah! how soon has he forgotten his own great words! It was spoken as only Mr. Webster can speak; and when I remember that prediction and turn to this law, I cannot but cry out in the deepest sorrow—Oh, Lucifer! sun of the morning, how art thou fallen! I would not speak harshly of Daniel Webster—the time was when there was no man I so much revered; and for Statesman's genius, for stature of understanding, there is no man on the globe, since the death of Robert Peel, who is his equal. No, I would not cast stones at him. I would rather do as did the sons of Noah, going backward cast a cloak over his nakedness. And yet when, in these times, every one has to step over, or through, or around Webster, I cannot but allude to him, and I say that much as I revere him, much as I am proud of him—and I *am* proud of him for his noble intellect, encased in such a noble frame—yet LIBERTY is dearer, TRUTH is dearer, CHRISTIANITY is dearer.

My sixth objection is that bad laws are a treason to good government. I know of nothing that has so promoted a disregard of authority and a contempt of all law, as the enactment of this Fugitive Slave Law.

And I object to the law because of its *sequences*. Bad laws always bring bad sequences; the evil does not stop with the law itself or its enactment. And the first bad sequence that came of it was that impotent, empty thunderbolt of a Union Safety Committee, whose members read their ledgers for their duty, and feel in their pockets for their consciences. (Great applause.) But there must be scarecrows, I suppose, in every large field, though men do not usually feel like electing themselves to that office. (Laughter.)

Another objection to the law is that it brought into vogue a style of reasoning that, if believed in, would overthrow all human governments. The higher law—the law of conscience, the law of God, the law upon which obedience to all law is based, has been cried down and scouted, not by politicians only, but by *ministers*. Ministers of Jehovah have cast scorn on the higher law of Jehovah, and preached up the lower law doctrine; and very low they have got too, we should judge, from their sepulchral tones at present. Nay more, they have taken this opportunity to show their ill-blood against rival denominations, and even to vent their ill-will against individuals, mixing up private wrongs with public wrongs, and personal feuds with national questions. And documents teaching this doctrine have been sent by tens of thousands through the groaning mails all over our land, through all the valleys and over all the plains and across the mountains, into towns and villages and hamlets. And this doctrine, so taught and so sent, is nothing else than the doctrine of kings and despots, of the divine right of rulers, of non-resistance to power, however oppressive. It is nothing else than a dressing up of the old doctrine of Laud and the Stuarts in a modern suit. If that is the doctrine to be taught and believed and adopted, then there is no chance for republican institutions. Why is it that France has no firm republic after all its revolutions? Why is it that Italy—groaning Italy, striving and struggling for a republic, does not gain it? Why is it that Hungary—bleeding, prostrate Hungary, failed in her attempt? It is because the *common people* are trodden down, because they have given up their CONSCIENCES to priests and magistrates; and if this comes to be the custom in America, then all hope of freedom is lost. Human nature is a poor affair—man is but a pithy—porous—flabby substance, till you put *conscience* into him: and as for building a republic on men who do not hold to the rights of private conscience, who will not follow their own consciences rather than that of any priest or public, you might as well build the Custom House in Wall street on a foundation of cotton wool! But the nation that regards conscience more than anything else, above all customs and all laws, is, like New England, with its granite hills, immovable and invincible; and the nation that does not regard conscience is a mere base of sand, and quicksand too, at that. If you want this country to be like Turkey, or Egypt, or Algiers, why, give up the rights of private conscience and you will have it so, soon enough. No, we must follow our own consciences; God has so ordained and so commanded; and I tell you that if you do not follow your own conscience, God will hold you accountable! Now this law is held up by the principle that we must not follow our own consciences; that the public conscience, the conscience of the majority is our rule of action. But I tell you, my friends, this is not the doctrine of New York; it is not the doctrine of Massachusetts; it is not the doctrine of Ohio, nor of Vermont, nor Connecticut, nor Maine, nor New Hampshire, nor Rhode Island, nor Indiana, nor Illinois, nor Wisconsin, nor Iowa; and the time will come when this doctrine, begotten of Mammon and Politics, will find no place in the freed and ransomed world. Yes! the time will come when, on reading the epitaph of a man, which records that here lies A. B., author of a learned commentary to this or that book, and defender of the doctrine that the people must give up their consciences to magistrates and priests, the people will lift up their hands in astonishment, and exclaim "God have mercy on his soul!" (Cheering.)

My friends, if I have had the appearance of severity in these remarks, I have not meant to be severe: I have only wished to say frankly and fully what I most deeply and truly believe, and if I should meet a slaveholder in conversation I should say just the same. He might reply, I don't believe all you do, but you say what you *think*, and I like you; you are no dough-face. (Laughter.) I don't ask you to believe just what I say, but I do ask you to *think* of it, think of it with the Bible in your hands, think of it on your knees, think of it as patriots, as philanthropists, as Christian men, as inheritors of immortality, and if you will think of it, you will find the truth, and the end of my speech is gained.

We have thus given as full a report of Mr. Beecher's remarks as our circumstances would allow. It occupied an hour and a half in delivery, and of course is not all here; some scattered sentences have necessarily been omitted, but that which is given is believed to be accurate. H. F.

From The (London) Inquirer.

RECEPTION OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

THERE has been recently a good deal of discussion, in various religious circles, respecting the manner in which Englishmen should receive American slaveholders and supporters of Slavery, who may visit this country during the Exhibition. The feeling which prevails on the subject is tolerably uniform, although different methods may be adopted to express it. Circumstances distinctly impose upon us the duty of conveying to Americans, in the fullest manner, the feelings with which we regard both the institution of Slavery and the recent attempts made to prop it up by the Fugitive Slave Bill. Englishmen are accustomed to set a high value upon American opinion. We prize the esteem of our brethren across the Atlantic much above the approbation of any foreign nation. It is not presumptuous to assume that Americans entertain a reciprocal feeling. They too attach a peculiar value to our good opinion, and it is right they should do so, because the deep sympathies which operate upon us all are amongst God's providential arrangements for the education and elevation of the human race. It results from this that the expression of our opinion upon American institutions and proceedings is a moral power, which we are bound to wield under a sense of strict responsibility. If we fail to give the wholesome stimulant which we might give to the correction of a mighty social evil in America, we are so far producers of the misery and sharers in the sin of its continuance.

To many Americans, the subject of Slavery is distasteful. Mere worldly politeness, therefore, might suggest silence respecting it in their presence. We trust that a politeness so false to the higher law of humanity, so cruelly misleading to its objects, and so dishonorable to ourselves, will be but little manifested. Truth is not served by rudeness or violence of speech, but with all possible gentleness of consideration for individual feelings, we ought to let Americans know that we look upon those institutions which retain three millions of men in bondage, as the most shocking and revolting that are to be found in the civilized world. They appear to us the more horrible because of their alliance with a high civilization, and because of the extent to which they are interwoven with the organization of Christian churches. We see them not in company with the ignorance of African tribes, or sustained and softened by the ancient usages of Oriental nations, but face to face with the science and religion of the West, which, being thus perverted to evil, have become the sharpest instruments of oppression. Hence we see the public opinion of the American Slave States upon all moral questions incidental to Slavery, becoming progressively degraded, and the sacred function of the pulpit employed to aggravate, instead of checking, the deterioration. But now the North, also, by a sudden legislative change, becomes intimately and conspicuously involved in the maintenance of the slave system. The Fugitive Slave Bill puts upon all Americans, who have not testified against it, the same responsibility. Upon this subject of recent, fresh-absorbing interest, who can be silent? What question so natural and appropriate to put to every American as "What of the Fugitive Slave Bill?" We have, indeed, no sympathy with those who would dissolve the American Union, none with those who would resort to mob violence, but the deepest and warmest sympathy with all who would free the republic from the foul stain affixed to it by that law, and who peacefully but resolutely refuse to take part in its execution. We are the more bound to express such sympathy, because some, whom we have been accustomed to respect, have so deplorably erred in their conduct upon the question. The depravation of moral sentiment, which has been manifested by some of the professed teachers of religion and morality in the United States, renders it more imperatively our duty to testify to what we believe to be the law of GOD.

But in whatever we may say or do in this matter, we have no right to assume any pharisaic attitude of personal superiority to those who have been trained from childhood to see no wrong in the social system under which they live. If they choose to point to the various forms of injustice which exist amongst ourselves, we would not palliate those wrongs by one word of apology. They may even humiliate us, and it will be right and wholesome that they should do so, by adverting to the immorality of such detestable doctrines as those which were recently put forth by Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons respecting the extermination of aboriginal races. We must admit, with grief, that an English legislator has been found to proclaim maxims of tyranny as atrocious as any that have issued from Carolina or Alabama. We may truly say, however, that no English Minister would dare to act upon those maxims, and, whatever moral deficiencies may appear in our conduct as a nation, they may be exposed by every one amongst us who feels them, without qualification and without fear. We would neither conceal our own shortcomings, nor be blind to the virtues of those towards whom we would address the words of brotherly remonstrance. We know well that slaveholders can be generous, truthful, humane, and, as far as is consistent with their unhappy position, just. Many even are sensible of the moral evils of that position; but there are various signs that that sensibility, instead of becoming more general, is growing callous under the deadening influence of custom. We have to remember that a calm and conciliating, yet strong, expression of English opinion, is probably one of the appointed means by which that moral torpor is to be dispelled.

From The British Banner.

HOW ARE AMERICAN PRO-SLAVERY MINISTERS TO BE RECEIVED?

IT is recorded of the late O'CONNELL, that he would suffer no slaveholder to be seated under his roof; the moment he ascertained the point—and he was uniformly at pains to inquire, before an interview, when an American visitor was announced, how he stood with respect to the question of Slavery—the blunt, bold reply was, "I cannot see him!" There are few British hearts which do not sympathize with the generous determination of the great Irish Patriot, and amongst those who do so, we claim a foremost place. It is, therefore, with no small pleasure we have received the following resolution, unanimously passed at the half-yearly meeting of the Ministers and other Deputies of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union and Home mission:

RESOLUTION.

"That the grief and shame which we have long "felt on account of the Slavery which prevails in "several of the United States of North America are "greatly aggravated by the fact, that not a few "Christian Churches and Christian ministers, so "called, plead for the continuance of that wretched "system; that our sorrow has been recently still "further deepened by the atrocious 'Fugitive Slave "Law,' which the Legislature of the United States "has enacted; that while it would give us pain to "do anything that should even seem to be incon-"sistent with international and Christian hospitality, "especially towards our Transatlantic kinsfolk du-"ring the approaching Congress in London, *we deem* "*it right to express our unanimous determination not* "*to welcome to our pulpits any minister of religion*, "whatever may be his reputation in the States, who "hesitates to avow his abhorrence of Slavery, and "his earnest desire for its speedy abolition; but "that, on the other hand, we regard those American "ministers and others who, in their own country, "boldly declare their Anti-Slavery principles, to be "worthy of 'double honor.'"

This is as it should be, and we consider great praise is due to the Union aforesaid, for this wise, bold and prompt expression of its conscientious determination and resolution. The Ocean-path is free, and they may traverse it who chose, but not so the path which leads to the pulpits and the parlors of Englishmen. Let no pirate footstep pollute those paths! Pirate, we say; for we must view the man who holds property in man, who makes merchandize of the flesh and blood, the soul and spirit of his fellow creatures, as of the pirate species, and of that species the worst part! We never fail to discriminate, when dealing with these subjects; but discrimination has its limits, and, after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, those limits must, in our judgment, and in our conscience, be contracted from a wide circumference to a single point. Previously, Slavery was an affair of certain States; but, by this law, it is made an affair of all States, since all citizens are now, more or less, involved in the atrocious crime of Slavery, and the time is come for Christians in England, and in Europe generally, to give the virtuous and right-minded portion of the United States people the benefit of an external conscience, and of a loudly and unmistakeably expressed public opinion. Let all whom the matter doth or may concern distinctly understand, that Englishmen will in no respect be directly or indirectly parties to the sanctioning of this barbarous and blood-stained enactment! That which was once local has now become federal, and therefore has comprehended within its all-pervading grasp the entire population of the States General. The time has come which will try the spirits of men. Formerly many were sincere in pleading the difficulties arising from the fact, that Slavery was a "Domestic Institution"—an affair exclusively appertaining to the several States in which it prevailed, but with which the General Congress could not interfere. Many used this plea dishonestly; now, however, all mistakes are removed. It is *now*, with a vengeance, an affair of the Great Confederation, and, unless removed, it will prove a blight and a curse to that great, and, in many respects, glorious country! If slaveholders and their abettors must needs cross the Atlantic to worship at the shrine of Genius in the Crystal Palace, let them! Let them parade the avenues of the wondrous Pile, and the splendid Parks which surround it, with their ladies gemmed and jewelled, and loaded with gold, the profits of the murderous traffic, heedless of the fact, that yonder Sun is descending upon three-and-a-half millions of manacled men, women, and children, whose blood and tears have ministered to their luxury, and sustained the expenditure of their trip to the Fatherland! Let them do so with a quiet conscience and self-respect if they can; but, by all that is sacred, we call on British Christians to refuse their aid in the ungodly endeavor! Courtesy must not be exercised at the expense of conscience, and the rites of hospitality must not be exercised towards men whose hands are red with the blood of the slave!

It will be seen that the foregoing resolution touches only on the ecclesiastical point, and deals exclusively with ministers. For the Bristol Union and for ministers generally, this may be enough; but the matter must not end here. The principle must extend to laymen, to Christians generally, and to all the relations of life; the Apostolic principle must be applied in full, and, therefore, "no fellowship must be had" with these men that "they may be ashamed." No alliance with the men who number their fellow immortals with their horses and their oxen! No alliance with the men who rank such spirits as FREDERICK DOUGLASS—spirits whose wisdom would teach sages, and whose eloquence would charm senates—with goods and chattels, and put them up for sale on the auction block!

SECESSION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

ADDRESS OF THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

THE SECESSION RESOLUTIONS.

LETTER OF LANGDON CHEVES.

We give below the Address and Resolutions of the Southern Rights Convention, held two weeks ago, in Charleston, S. C., and also the Letter of Langdon Cheves to that body. They make an interesting page in the running history of the day.

ADDRESS

From the Delegates of the Southern Rights Associations of South Carolina, assembled in Charleston, to the Southern Rights Associations of the other Southern States.

Having met to take counsel together, and having agreed upon that course which we think it right and necessary to pursue, we wish to lay before you the considerations by which we have been governed, with that frankness which our respect for you, and our desire to merit your good opinion, require.

We regard the position of the Southern States in this Confederacy as degraded and ruinous. The manifest tendency of those systematic aggressions which they have suffered for many years past, is to subvert the institution of Slavery. If those acts of hostile domination, which have been rendered more insulting by mockery of language, under the term of a compromise, were final in their nature, and were not to be followed by any further aggressions, we should still regard them as outrages, to which sovereign States, possessing the spirit of freedom, ought never to submit. But those measures only form part of a system, gradually commenced, steadily carried forward, gathering strength from development, and proceeding with fatal momentum to its end. That end is the abolition of negro Slavery in the Southern States, and the lowering of the free white population of the South to the same level with that agrarian rabble which, already strong and dangerous, seems destined, before very long, to be the controlling power in the Northern States.

We see no remedy and no safety for the South in the present Union. But we know that in this we differ from very many citizens of the other Southern States, spirited and intelligent, having the same interests, and suffering under the same wrongs, with ourselves, and who cherish the hope that the rights of the South may be vindicated and secured without dissolving the existing Confederacy. In this difference, it does not become us to assume to dictate, and we hope to stand free from that charge. Up to this time, the citizens of South Carolina, aware that peculiarity of political position, arising from past events, rendered a certain reserve on their part prudent and proper, have studiously avoided everything which might look like assuming the lead in the defence of Southern Rights. They desired to act, because they believed that safety and honor required action; but they hoped that they might find leaders in other States, whom they might follow in defence of the common cause.

When the ancient Commonwealth of Virginia, the proper leader of the South, declared her determination to resist, at all hazards and to the last extremity, hostile measures then threatened, South Carolina, with all alacrity, stood ready to support Virginia in carrying out her high resolution. When Georgia—whose former resistance to Federal usurpation, under her heroic statesman, Troupe, gave promise of unflinching firmness in any contest in which she might engage—proclaimed her determination to make a stand for the rights of the South, South Carolina rejoiced at the prospect of rallying under the banner of Georgia. And when her young and gallant sister, Mississippi, proposed the wise measure of a Southern Convention, for the purpose of endeavoring to unite the Southern States in maintaining their constitutional rights, and at the same time preserving, if possible, the existing Union, South Carolina heartily entered into this measure; and she has carried out the recommendation of the Convention so assembled at the instance of Mississippi, by providing for the election of Delegates to a Southern Congress, to whose meeting she still looks with anxious interest.

In all these proceedings, we think that the citizens of South Carolina have evinced all proper anxiety to avoid the appearance of arrogance or dictation, to act in concert with the citizens of the other Southern States, and to do nothing separately or precipitately. And now, strongly as we have expressed our belief that there is no hope for the South in the existing Union, we are prepared to give a trial, fairly and in good faith, to any effectual plan which may be proposed by any sister State of the South, for obtaining redress for the past and security for the future, without a dissolution of the existing Union, if there be a possibility of such a consummation.

But we find ourselves forced to consider the ulterior question, what we are to do, if we find that there is no reasonable hope of the co-operation of any other Southern State in any effectual plan of relief, and the alternative is presented to us, of submitting, or acting by ourselves. And reluctant as we are to separate ourselves from our natural friends and allies, we have made up our minds. We cannot submit. We know that South Carolina entered this Confederacy as a sovereign and independent State, and that, having been wronged, she has the perfect right to withdraw from it. Her sons must exercise the right and meet the consequences.

If no other State will join us in relieving ourselves from the wrongs already inflicted, we see no hope in waiting for new outrages to arouse a higher spirit of resistance. The new outrages, we are well convinced, will come in due time; but we feel no assurance that the spirit of the vassal will rise in proportion to the indignities heaped upon his head. On the contrary, we see that the South has already borne what it would not for a moment have submitted to ten years ago, and what the North would not then have ventured to perpetrate. We are not willing to try the experiment how long it will be before our spirit is completely broken, by gradually and continually yielding to slow and gradual but unceasing encroachments. And if the exercise of the right of secession is to be followed by the attempt on the part of the Government of this Confederacy to subjugate South Carolina, it is better that we should meet that attempt while we still have some spirit and some power of resistance left. If we are to submit to the condition of a conquered people, we think it less dishonorable not to do so until we have first been conquered. And if anything could add to the necessity which we believe exists for a withdrawal from the existing Union, it would be the denial of the right of secession. For the denial of that right indicates of itself extreme danger.

The right of secession has heretofore, and in better days, been regarded as unquestionable by all Southern politicians, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of consolidationists. And if ever that right can be denied without arousing the whole South to sustain it, the South will be ripe for the most miserable fate which has ever befallen any people. It will then, as a permanent sectional minority, have no defence against the tyranny of a Government combining all the vices of the corruptest democracy and the most oppressive foreign despotism. We know the consequences which will follow a failure in our effort to maintain our liberty. We see clearly that a triumphant exertion of the power of the Federal Government, in subjugating a State, will vastly increase that power, and greatly accelerate the change, already far advanced, of our Federative system into a Consolidated central despotism. We see, also, that South Carolina will not suffer the consequences of this change alone, but that the rest of the Southern States must suffer in an equal degree. They will have no safeguard against the Central Government, strengthened by crushing opposition, and rendered, by triumphant force, what our Northern enemies have long been endeavoring to make it by fraudulent usurpation—the supreme Government of a consolidated nation.

The sovereignty of one Southern State cannot be destroyed, without the loss of their sovereignty by all the others. We are are aware of the responsibility of doing an act which may hasten these consequences. We feel the respect which we owe to States having a common interest, threatened by a common danger, but not equally persuaded with ourselves of the necessity of action. And, nothing would induce us to take, without their concurrence, a course which is to involve them in its consequences, but a thorough conviction of the necessity which urges us, and of our right to do so. Addressing citizens of Southern States, associated to maintain the rights of the South, we cannot imagine it to be necessary to argue about the right of secession. We hold it to be the great State right, without which all others are nugatory and incapable of being enforced; and your position assures us that your faith cannot be different from ours.

Nor can we regard it as necessary any farther to discuss the wrongs which have been inflicted on the Southern States. They may be denied by those who shut their eyes to them, but you do not belong to that class. Southern and State Rights men may differ as to the necessity of exercising the right of secession at a particular time, on account of those wrongs. But as certainly as the right exists, each State must possess the right of judging for herself, as to the occasion and time for its exercise. If South Carolina decides that honor and safety require her to secede, she has the right to leave the Confederacy peaceably and without molestation. If the act of secession is not permitted to be peaceable, it will be from usurpation of power by the Federal Government, not from the nature of the act performed by South Carolina. Accustomed as we have been to violations of the Constitution, and of the rights of the Southern States by the Federal Government, we have to look forward to the probability of another outrage by that Government, in the attempt to force the State to remain in the Union. We suppose the attempt will be made, if the other Southern States permit. Those States must decide for themselves whether they will permit it. South Carolina must decide for herself whether it is necessary to secede. Her sister States of the South will have no right to complain that she forces them into a position where they must either interpose to prevent her subjugation, or, by consenting to it, abandon their own sovereignty, and lay themselves at the mercy of a despotic power. In seceding, South Carolina will simply do an act which all Southern men who believe in the existence of State rights at all, must admit that she has a perfect right to do, and which she regards as absolutely necessary. She will be acting on her sacred right. She will be acting as she would have to act if none of the other Southern States were in existence, and she were the only object of aggression by the Northern States and the Federal Government. She is not answerable for the usurpations and injustice which may be committed against her. And for her sister States of the South to ask of her to refrain from an exercise of right which she regards as indispensable for self-preservation, would be an interference with her free action of a far different character from any with which she can be charged towards them. Sovereigns are equals. In seceding alone, South Carolina would be placing her sister States of the South under no constraint. If they should find themselves in a position of constraint, it would come from the action of the Federal Government, not of South Carolina. But if they should insist upon her refraining from the exercise of her right, and submitting to a condition which she regards as intolerable, they would make themselves parties with the Federal Government, in placing an unjustifiable constraint upon a sovereign and an equal.

We wish that the necessity for separate action by South Carolina, which we have contemplated, may be averted. We confide in the gallant spirits whom we address. There may be some hope of the assembling of a Southern Congress, to devise measures of redress and relief, upon which some of the injured States may unite. We have heretofore been willing to sacrifice much for Southern Union. We still are. We do not desire to lead, but to follow. Propose any effectual measures for vindicating our common rights, and providing for our common safety, and we will heartily unite with you in carrying them out. We should regret most deeply to incur the censure of friends, with whom we have the strongest desire to act in concert. But we feel a deep conviction that we have not acted heretofore with any precipitation, and that we are in the right in the determination which we have formed. The self-abasement of submission appears to us unworthy of men still pretending to be free. The gloomy prospect of inevitable ruin, to follow submission, appears to us more formidable than any dangers to be encountered in contending alone, against whatever odds, for our rights. We have come to the deliberate conclusion, that if it be our fate to be left alone in the struggle, alone we must vindicate our liberty by secession.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee of Twenty-one, to whom was referred the duty of drawing up resolutions expressive of the views of the Convention, reported the following, which were adopted on Thursday night, previous to the final adjournment:

1. Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the State of South Carolina cannot submit to the wrongs and aggressions which have been perpetrated by the Federal Government and the Northern States, without dishonor and ruin; and that it is necessary to relieve herself therefrom, whether with or without the co-operation of other Southern States.

2. Resolved, That concert of action with one or more of our sister States of the South, whether through the proposed Southern Congress, or in any other manner, is an object worth many sacrifices, but not the sacrifice involved in submission.

3. Resolved, That we hold the right of Secession to be essential to the sovgreignty and freedom of the States of this Confederacy; and that the denial of that right would furnish to an injured State the strongest additional cause for its exercise.

4. Resolved, That this meeting looks with confidence and hope to the Convention of the People, to exert the sovereign power of the State in defence of its rights, at the earliest practicable period and in the most effectual manner; and to the Legislature, to adopt the most speedy and effectual measure towards the same end.

LETTER OF LANGDON CHEVES.

PLANTATION (OGEECHEE.) 1st May, 1851.

My Dear Sir—I have been appointed a delegate of the Southern Rights Association of St. Phillips' and St. Michael's, and also of the Indian Land Association of York District, to the Convention to be held in your city on Monday next; and it was my wish and intention to have attended the Convention in obedience to these calls, but I cannot do so without neglecting private business of my own of importance, which admits of no delay, and which cannot be well accomplished without my personal attention. This business, however pressing and important, should have been superseded by the public call, if I could have believed that my attendance at the Convention could be of any material importance, but I am well satisfied that it could not. My general views of the grievances of the South, and of the subversion of the Constitution of the United States, are fully known to the public, and will weigh for what they are worth, as effectually as if I were again to declare them.

The object of the Convention, I understand to be, to declare whether, in the opinion of the Convention, South Carolina ought to secede from the Union alone, and without the concurrent action of any other of the Southern States. My opinion on the propriety of the separate action of one Southern State, and particularly of South Carolina, has been long known. There is no man in the country who feels more sensibly than I do the danger, the dishonor, the infamy of the condition of the South. No man is more entirely convinced of the justice, the constitutional right, and the political expediency of the withdrawal of the Southern States from that Union by which they are enthralled, and which cannot fail, while it subsists, to bring on them farther and future danger, oppression, and infamy. I am satisfied that history furnishes no example of such disreputable submission as that which they now exhibit. The philosophy of Liberty is jealousy. The proper action of patriotism is the earliest possible resistance to the slightest encroachment on public rights. The lovers of liberty snuff the tainted breeze of tyranny in the distant gale, and do not wait for the overwhelming power of the storm. But we tamely endure the full blast of the injuries and insults so profusely poured upon us. We hug our chains with something approaching to fondness, and submit to be governed by our bitter enemies—and yet it is only necessary to will it, to rend those chains, and to be "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."

As a citizen of the South, I feel humiliated into the very dust. Yet I am not of opinion, that South Carolina should secede alone. Nor do I think this on account of the dangers it may provoke, or the sacrifices it may require. No dangers and no sacrifices can be too great in such a cause. But one State of the South cannot stand alone in the midst of her sister States. These States form one family in interest, in blood, in feeling and in endearing social and historical relations and recollections, and such ties ought not to be broken but by dire necessity. South Carolina, I know, has been grossly slandered and villified for what no dispassionate man can say is rash or unwise. She has done no more than proclaim the Southern wrongs, and who can deny them, and to express a desire to unite with her sister States in resisting them. She will be wrong, however, in my poor opinion, if she separate alone from them in her measure of resistance. But it may be said they have not proposed to do what the honor and interest of all require to be done to redeem the character and sustain the rights of the South. It is most true and deeply to be lamented; but we are but one member of this large family, and have no right to dictate authoritatively to the other members of the confederacy. We must wait upon them, and entreat them to move. We should use no language of irritation. We must look with forbearance on their tardiness.

"Be to their faults a little blind,
Be to their virtues very kind,
And put a padlock on the mind," as to the past.

The people of our Southern Sisters, are a brave people, whose fathers fought for liberty, who themselves were born and nurtured to the enjoyment of it, and who, therefore, know the value of it. It cannot be believed that such a people will long consent to be governed otherwise than by a government in which they shall enjoy equal rights, equal power, and equal honors. They have been deceived and betrayed. They must and will hearken to other counsellors than those to whom they have hitherto listened. The South must and will rouse from its slumbers, and mainly rely upon the Democracy of the country. The democratic party once already, under the guidance of Jefferson, in 1798, saved the South from the ambition and toils of Federalism. We now contend against the same people, but with these differences: The leading Federalists were then high, honorable, able men, who were ambitious to govern you, but whose ambition was noble, and, therefore, scarce a crime, though dangerous to the true principles of our Union. These men have gone down to the grave, or have been proscribed and discarded by their unworthy associates—men with more than their ambition, but none of their virtues or talents.

The great object of the old Federalists was a strong but honest Government. That of their successors, is an anarchical tyranny, regardless of the provisions of the Constitution for the security of Southern rights, and animated by the principles of abolition, and the frenzy of fanaticism. Let the Democratic party, then, which rallied under the wise guidance and foresight of Jefferson, and saved the South, again put forth its strength. It embraces the great power of the Southern States. Even the Whigs of the South are Democrats, though in a false position, in which accident has placed them, and freed of that, they will appear under their old flag. The Whig party is now no longer that of which they were members. It was a party founded on the details of the politics of the day, on the comparatively small measures of the moment, and upon the candidates for Federal offices. The present moment is one of life or death to the South, and that party is not now contending for these old objects, but to conquer the South and to abolish her most important and valuable institutions. If there are Whigs at the South who will still adhere to them, they are few and can be spared. We shall be strong enough, if true to ourselves, without them. It is only necessary that the Democratic party act vigorously, zealously, and perseveringly, and the principles of the South will be triumphant. If we have souls in our bosoms, can it be otherwise.

The consummation so devoutly wished may not be accomplished in a day or a year; but let the party of the South persevere and the result is inevitable. This will be true of Virginia and Georgia, as well as of other States. Let no one believe that the recent acts of these States truly express the will and determination of the people of these States. They will take new counsel, and finally be governed by *their old principles*. Let the question be distinctly put, at the polls, to the people, whether they will submit to the present subversion of their rights, and the present degradation of the Southern people, and, I think

ly one between the South and the North, and whether we shall be governed absolutely now and forever by a people whose avowed objects are to annihilate us?

I have finally, my dear sir, to ask the favor of you to communicate this letter to the Convention, if you be a member of it, which I believe you are, or, if not, to engage some other hand to do so. My object is to show to those who appointed me that their delegate, though unable personally to attend the Convention, has not been wholly unmindful of his duty to them.

I am, my dear sir,
With great respect and esteem,
Your obedient servant,
LANGDON CHEVES.

G. A. TRENHOLM, Esq., Charleston, S. C.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have seen it intimated that this Convention will be called upon to act much more largely than was at first suggested, upon the difficult questions between the South and the General Government. If it shall do so, I have no doubt the action will be unfortunate. It will, among other evils, divide the people of the State into parties, instead of presenting that unanimity which now does it so much credit, and will probably, under future contingencies, give it much strength. The great activity and zeal of South Carolina have destroyed her moral and political influence. That zeal and activity were not condemnable in themselves, but under actual circumstances, were impolitic. It was slanderously called ambition, and a desire to dictate, and excited the jealousy of other States. Measures, right and proper, and patriotic, were condemned simply because they came from South Carolina; and every dastard has justified his recreancy under this prejudiced and slanderous condemnation. If South Carolina be wise she will wait upon her sister States yet a long while. Let her be prepared to act, but leave other States time to deliberate and determine for themselves. Great changes must take place in the sentiments of the Southern people, or history is a fiction, and the nature of man has changed. Let South Carolina be prepared to join other States, but she cannot go foremost without injuring her own and the common cause.

There has been, I think, another error in the management of our controversy (not peculiar to South Carolina). We have had too many Conventions. Such assemblages are proper, and only proper, on great occasions, when the sense of the people is doubtful. In almost all, if not all, other occasions, the organized power of Government is the safest ground of reliance. It is particularly so in this case, which is a case of usurpation and tyranny on the part of the General Government, and our wise ancestors, with great jealousy, reserved and secured the Independence of the States as a proper power to control the ambition of the Federal Government when it might arise: and our great error and misfortune has been, that we have allowed the State Governments to be virtually nullified by not calling them early and vigorously into action. A concert between the State Governments is the great want of the South at this time, and this great object will best be attained by the Legislative and Executive functionaries of their respective Governments.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1851

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

THE New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held, as usual, in Boston, during the anniversary week, commencing on TUESDAY, May 27th, at 10 o'clk, A. M., and continuing in session three days. To it are summoned as many of the free spirits of the times as can possibly find their way to the city, which, degraded and fallen through selfishness, cowardice and inhumanity, greatly needs their presence to shame it into decency, and enable it to stand erect as in the times that tried men's souls. The Slave Power is struggling desperately, and every one who claims to belong to the 'sacramental host' of Liberty is expected to be at his post, fully equipped for service.

There will be a strong array of able and eloquent advocates of Freedom on the occasion.

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*
EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary.*

MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT SYRACUSE.

(PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY ROBERT BOND.)

[*Continued.*]

The PRESIDENT stated that the platform of the Society was free for all; but especially did they invite those differing from them in sentiment, to express their views. It was especially free to those, on that occasion, who thought that George Thompson, being an Englishman, had no right to open his lips in regard to our peculiar institution. With regard to what Mr. Douglass had said in relation to "cutting" the acquaintance of the pro-slavery religionists of the country, he held in his hand a copy of the 'British Banner,' one of the most influential religious papers of England, edited by Dr. Campbell, and he would read an extract from it. After giving an account of resolutions adopted by the Bristol synod with regard to shutting the pulpits of that district against American pro-slavery clergy, the 'Banner' fully endorses the sentiments and principles involved, and adds that this was not going even far enough. Pro-slavery laymen should also be made to feel, that the religionists of England had no sympathy with the Slavery of America, by being excluded equally with the clergy from their religious and social civilities.

Mr. M'CLURE followed in an effective and eloquent speech, advocating the perfect right of every man, every citizen of the world, to express his sentiments freely in regard to every question vitally affecting, as did the system of American Slavery, the interests of freedom and humanity all over the world. Mr C. referred to and partially described the circumstances attending the capture and return to Slavery of Sims, from Boston,—circumstances of which he was an eye witness.

The resolutions were then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON then rose, and was received with the most enthusiastic and continued applause. He said: I cannot but think that any resolution with special regard to me, is a sin after the similitude of that sin alleged to be committed by others in this nation. I would fain be one of the humblest in this work of faith and labor of love, sinking my nationality, utterly forgetting that I am what is called an Englishman, and only remembering that I am a man. God never made an Englishman, he never made an American; God made *man*, and I know him only as such. (Loud cheers.) For Americans to brand me, of all other men, as a foreigner, is but to proclaim their own unworthiness to occupy the soil which is now the resting place of this nation. I have as good a right to be here as any man, save the red man.

Foreign interference! Why did not the American nation, when they rose this morning, rebuke the sun, that now illuminates this hemisphere, for it shone upon England yesterday? Why not call the sun a foreigner? Whatever is from God is universal; there is nothing narrow, bigotted, circumscribed, local or national in that which comes from the hand of Deity! It was left for this nation, that should have been noblest amongst the noblest, most generous amongst the generous, that should have opened her arms to have embraced every man, and her understanding and heart to receive instruction from the ends of the earth,—it was left to this nation to shut itself up from the rest of the world—for what? That it might hug, in solitude and secresy, the demon Slavery to its bosom. For no man is a foreigner until he dares to enter that chamber of imagery, and rebuke the incestuous intercourse going on between the genius of republicanism and the demon of Slavery. (Loud applause.)

I may be denounced by any paper published in this country, I am not a foreigner on that account; I am foreign to nothing in this country, but that which is Anti-Republican and inhuman. Whatever there is good in this country, I admire; whatever there is noble and generous, and human, and truly Christian I love. But I am not to be told, either in New York or in Boston, that I may imitate Christ in England, but must follow Belial in America. Wherever *he* leads I will follow, and if Christ comes to this country to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, I will trace his course through the sea, and look for his footsteps on the land, nor fear the rebuke of those despots who stand at the door that confines 3,000,000 of the human race, and would drive me back by telling me, that I am an officious interloper. There is need of me in this country, to reveal America to herself. America can see other nations, not only in their true dimensions, but very often in false and exaggerated dimensions. The very papers that pour upon me every morning the cruelty of their scorn, that brand me with epithets, that you would not cast upon a murderer, these very papers are distinguished above all the depraved press of the day, by their letters, real or pretended, from correspondents in all parts of the world, pouring contumely and obloquy and condemnation upon the nations of the earth. Side by side, with a column of abuse on me, is there a column of abuse on my country, and the one is of as much value as the other. I care as much about that which concerns me, as my country cares for the filthy and venomous attacks that such papers make upon her. To reach either me or my country, such papers must speak in all truth and soberness: all temperance, justice and honesty; and when such shall be their tone I will learn from what they teach, and my country will not, I trust, be slow to receive as it shall be intended, the counsel that is offered. I am not a stranger to the American Anti-Slavery platform. I have sat by its cradle, though I cannot say that I have followed its hearse. For the hearse of that Society will not be drawn until it shall go to that place where, side by side with the American Anti-Slavery Society, shall be buried that domestic Institution, which now overshadows and curses this otherwise beautiful and magnificent country. (Applause.) Having 16 years ago stood upon a platform in New York, the accredited agent of the American Anti Slavery Society, I feel that I am not out of place after that long interval, in standing upon that platform again. I have done nothing to render me unworthy of the position I now occupy. I have endeavored to stand by the American Anti-Slavery Society through evil, as well as good report, and more in *evil* than in good report. (Cheers.) And I intend to stand by it so long as it shall stand by its principles, as contained in the declaration read to you this morning.

I reciprocate, I share, the grateful feelings of my friends about me in reference to the kind welcome that has been extended to the American Anti-Slavery Society in this good city of Syracuse.

What a spectacle! That the great commercial city of New York should not permit a society like this to hold its anniversary—a city where there are brothels innumerable protected by law, grog-shops protected by law, and where slaveholders may enter protected by law, yet refusing to allow a society to hold its anniversery, whose sole object it is to promulgate and apply the great principles upon which the independence and liberty of this country are based. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, we read in the sacred volume that on one occasion the inhabitants of a certain place in the land of Judea prayed the great Teacher, the great moral Reformer, to depart out of their coasts. They prayed that Being to depart out of their coasts from the very same motive that leads the New Yorkers to drive Wm. Lloyd Garrison out of their coasts. The Gaddereens dealt in pigs, the New Yorkers traffic in slaves. The pigs of the one were in danger; the unhallowed gains of the other are in danger, and therefore whether it be Christ, or whether it be Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the prayer is still the same—"depart out of our coasts." We do not read that that glorious and divine Being ever re-entered the country of the Gaddareens. I care not that Wm. Lloyd Garrison should ever again tread the streets of New York. Leave the cankerous extremity of your State to rot in its own putridity. Take you care of the centre—of the heart. Look well to yourselves.

They say that "man made the town,"—I think the Devil helped him;—but "God made the country;" and I have found it so. Let me live where God reigns and leave the cities that are plagued and corrupted by Slavery to send the Gospel (?) to the ends of the earth, and their George Thompson's up the rivers of Africa, to proclaim the Gospel to the Mandingoes and Congoes of that great continent,—be it ours to preach the *true* gospel—that gospel which will set free the captive in our midst, and enable you to furnish evidence to the world that you are not only "hearer's but *doers* of the word."

Mr. T. then congratulated the Anti-Slavery Society upon the progress its principles had made, since he had last addressed them at an annual meeting. Its vitality had been evinced, by its survival of trials and calumnies immeasurable. There were no signs of retrograding; there is not an event connected either with the Church or with the State that does not evidence the accelerated progress of this great enterprise.

The eloquent speaker then referred to *The New York Herald* and its editor, Mr. Bennett. He fully agreed that for powerful and truthful delineations of the political circumstances, aspects and prospects of this country, that paper was not excelled by any paper in the Union. In saying this he spoke of those graver articles that are written designedly to portray the actual political state of affairs in this country. Mr. Bennett had again and again borne testimony to the power, if not to the omnipotence of the Anti-Slavery element in this country. Months ago, he had declared that no Statesman could overlook, and still less despise it; that the Abolitionists hold the balance of power in New York, and the New England and Western States. There were other papers that also affected to despise this movement, and misrepresented the proceedings connected with it, who yet in their sober leading articles, admit that it occupies one of the most important positions in the country. What other movement was there in the country but this? There was none to be compared in importance with this Anti-Slavery movement. It was above all, before all, embracing all. It was a great question; great for this continent, great for the world, great for all time and all humanity. But still the question was put to them, "What have you to with it?"

Sir, (continued Mr. Thompson,) an Englishman has much to do with it, speaking of him merely as such. We pay to your brethren at the South fifty or sixty, seventy or eighty millions of dollars annually. For what? For the raw material of our great cotton manufacturers, and other descriptions of produce. Is it nothing to us that our garments are woven from a material that has been watered with the tears and stained with the blood of Americans? Is it nothing to us that we should be dependent for our supplies of those materials upon a country that raises every fibre of them by coerced and uncompensated la-bor? That our greatness as a manufacturing country, employing millions of our people, and more than seventy millions of our capital, should be based upon the produce of the cotton tree—that tree planted, bred, and pruned, and its fruits gathered by men and women whom you have embruted and hold in absolute and unpitied bondage? Is it nothing to us that having made our colonies free, emancipated our fellow-subjects in the Antilles, that if a colored crew, commanded by a colored captain, should anchor in a Southern port, our fellow-subjects, having no other crime than their complexion, should be seized, thrown into Southern jails, and it may be, sold to pay the bill that they may contract by their forced confinement? Is it nothing to us, as Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen, to see thousands of our countrymen coming to your shores every year, perhaps our relatives, at any rate, our countrymen, going from a land where the moral atmosphere is comparatively pure upon this question to a land where they almost invariably become corrupted and are transformed into pro-slavery men, as those around them? Is it nothing that we see the progress of the Cause of Freedom stopped by America throughout the world?

We have, as Englishmen, much to do with these things; and to be heard as the friends of Universal Liberty, we have everything to do with them. But I will not risk my title on any such narrow grounds. The cause of liberty throughout the world is one; man's right to liberty is the same in every latitude and every longitude. Man's great moral duties are the same on every rood of God's territory, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic. Our obligations to plead the cause of the down-trodden is as great *here* as anywhere; and if I establish my right to be heard, albeit I am a stranger and a "foreigner," and there be anything in nationality, then how heavy the obligation rests upon the Americans to engage in this work. If I can demonstrate I have something to do with it, even if I own a sovereign whose sceptre sways not this portion of the world,—coming from a monarchical and aristocratic country, how much more have you to do with it, who have proclaimed for 75 years that these are self-evident truths, that God has "created all men free and equal," and that "*resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.*" But I do not confine myself to the period since the Declaration of Independence. What are 75 years compared with the immutable and eternal principles of rectitude?"

Mr. THOMPSON then continued, that in raising up that "Declaration," and in forming the Constitution, its founders did not imagine that they had discovered any new principles. They were truths settled from all eternity that they promulgated; truths enforced, too, by Christ and his apostles. He then took his stand with Christ and his apostles who said, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth. With the prophet who said, "have we not one father? Hath not one God created us?" With Moses who said, "Thou shalt not steal." And with God who declared, when He created man, that he should be lord of the lower creation, and should have no superior midway between the earth on which he trod and the throne on which sits his Creator and his God.—(Tremendous applause.)

Mr. T. then referred to Mr. Quincy's enquiry as to the reason why the whole nation was disturbed by the arrival of one man. It was not that they dreaded the potsherd, but that which it contained. Not him, but the truth he would utter. They dread not me, I am but the scabbard, that shall be cast aside; they dread the sword of the spirit which is the word of God. They will not be told the truth by their own countrymen, it is harder still to be told the truth by a stranger. A Bulwer may flatter, and neglect his ambassadorial duties at Washington, and may traverse the length and breadth of the land, and is equally at home with the chivalrous despots at the South, or those creatures at the North, that go down upon their bellies and eat dust in the presence of their august masters." (Loud cheers.) He, too, would have been welcomed if he had come to keep silence with regard to Slavery. But it was well for America that he was here to reveal America to herself. It was not wonderful that she was in her present condition; for what statesman or divine spoke the truth? What man dare do so, unless he was willing to be reviled?

But in speaking thus he would not overlook a cheering feature in this country. No man would be able to speak better of America than he would. When he went home, he would be able to say better things of America than any of his countrymen that ever trod her shores. He would be able to say that from landing until he departed, he had told the truth freely, and America had not refused to hear it. He had told the truth and had been rewarded with her confidence, her co-operation and her love. They had been born blind upon this subject, and those not born blind had been smitten with blindness upon this subject. The power that had opened *their* eyes was capable of opening the eyes of the whole nation. It was then their duty to prosecute this cause with, if possible, renewed energy. The question of Abolition was up before the country, and could never be set at rest, except by the extinction of Slavery throughout the entire country.

Mr. T. concluded an eloquent and able address, by expressing his belief in the ultimate and speedy triumph of the principles they advocated, and encouraging the friends of the cause to redoubled exertions.

The convention then adjourned until half past seven.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention reassembled at half past seven o'clock.

Rev. S. J. MAY submitted the following resolution from the Committee on Business.

Resolved, That our controversy is with the existence of Slavery itself on the American Soil; that we indulge in no dreams of its limitation, modification, or gradual removal; that nothing is gained, but very much is lost, by attempting to conciliate its demon-spirit by evasion, procrastination, or compromise; that to talk of resisting its aggressions, or holding it in check, while tolerating it as a system, is a most lamentable delusion, that any religious or political alliance with it is sinful and suicidal—"a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell;" and that the only standard under which the friends of freedom can either consistently or successfully rally is that which bears the inscription, 'No Union with Slaveholders."

J. W. WALKER, of Ohio, then addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. He confined himself chiefly to general remarks on the subject that had called the convention together, and the object of the resolution, the total and immediate Abolition of Slavery in America. Mr. Walker remarks did not apply to the means indicated in the resolution for the accomplishment of their object, but furnished a complete argument in proof of the sinfulness and cruelty of the system of American Slavery. He was followed by

H. C. WRIGHT who said: He supposed that it was understood by the convention that the question at issue in the resolution was the dissolution of the Union. The gist of the whole resolution lay in the sentence, that the only standard under which the friends of freedom could either consistently or successfully rally was that which bore the inscription "no union with slaveholders." He wanted that sentiment to be kept in mind. To his mind, it would have been better so expressed in times gone bye than in the words no "union with Slavery." He did not see the justice of talking of sin in the abstract. If men now a days had to talk to men in responsible and important stations, they spoke of the *sin*, not of the sinner. But let them have to deal with a man in rags, and the sinner, not the sin was pointed at. Let a man steal a loaf of bread for his starving family, and he was seized, branded a thief and sent to jail. Let the reverend or titled man-stealer come before you, and you talk about the *sin*, but touch not the sinner. You send the *theft* to hell, but the *thief* to heaven. He had done with that; his business was with the thief, the man-stealer; and he was glad to see the matter, the position of the society, truly expressed in the resolution, "no union with slaveholders." He would have neither political, domestic nor business union with slaveholders. For his part he did not care how soon the business connexion with the South was severed. Within his recollection there had been three entire national bankruptcies, and he hoped a fourth would come, if it would only sever the North from Slavery.

The great error of the nation had been perpetrated in 1787, when, in the convention at Philadelphia, the friends of freedom consented to sit with slaveholders, and deliberate with the most infamous tyrants on the formation and preservation of liberty and free institutions. He believed that the framers of this Republic perpetrated a great outrage upon Justice and Humanity, as well as upon sound expediency, when they consented that slaveholders should come into this Union as partakers of its blessings, and the protection it gave; for the moment that was done, they put themselves in the position that the free people of the country must equally extend protection to the property of the slaveholder in man, and the cattle and horses of the country. They could not extend protection to property in cattle without also extending it to property in man; and he challenged the friends of the Union to deny that proposition. Our fathers had made a vital compromise with slaveholders, and nothing but compromising had been done ever since; and as a result, Slavery had been extended over more than a million of square miles where there was no Slavery then. And nothing could stop the advance of Slavery so long as the Union existed; it must cover all Mexico, and eventually all the West Indies, for they too, in time, must be annexed to this country. Canada, too, would become a hunting ground for Slavery. Our fathers did wrong when they combined with slaveholders to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty. It was as absurd a compact as if one were to enter into a confederacy with liars to promote the truth.

He (Mr. Wright) believed that every moment that the Union continued as it is, it is an unmitigated curse to humanity. The Republic had utterly failed to accomplish the objects of its creation, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution. It had so far failed of establishing justice, that the very existence of the Union was a libel on all justice; it had been a most stupendous act of injustic, the most gigantic that had ever been perpetrated on this globe. He had, in conclusion, two propositions to submit: first, that Slavery can never be abolished in this nation while the present federal Union lasts. This was conceded by every one; and George Julian, member of Congress for Indiana, on being asked what Congress could defer abolition, had anticipated the conclusion by saying that the dissolution of the Union was but a question of time. His second proposition was, that the Constitution of the United States can never be altered on the question of Slavery. Let them begin to realize these two facts, and let the results arrive; the quicker, the better for all.

Mr. QUINCY, of Boston, having taken the chair,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON addressed the convention as follows: The great Bard of Nature has truly affirmed 'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just; and he is naked, though locked up in steel, whose conscience with injustice is corrupt.' Who are the serene men of our time? and who are they who are filled with anxiety, alarm and trepidation? They who are arguing for the dissolution of the Union are not multitudinous: they are not the "great men" of our country, nor the wealthy, nor the strong; yet they are serene men, always confident, in a state of absolute certainty as to the position which they occupy, and what must be the result of their labors. The American Union! why, is it not strong, so strong that no man, and no combination of men, can shake it? *We* are "madmen," "fanatics," insignificant men, who are talking about the overthrow of this glorious structure. If it be so, and we are therefore powerless, why all this consternation about the permanence of the Union? That which is strong and well-settled, and especially that which is advancing, certainly will stand; and whoever they may be that may attempt with their puny hands to overturn it, we may laugh at or pity, as the case may be. Job tells us that in the year of the oppressor there is a trouble sent, and I take it that the trouble sent in our time is this, "*No Union with Slaveholders*" (loud applause). I know that this single issue is affecting the state of the nation far more deeply and thoroughly than anything yet tried as a test or probe. To my mind, the reason is obvious. You may proclaim as much as you please the wisdom of Washington, Hancock, Jefferson—they were extraordinary men, and did, in many respects, a great work—yet I know that they were fallible and criminal men. While they professed to regard all men *free*, almost all of them, at that very hour, held hundreds of their fellow creatures in the cruel bondage of Slavery.

We may be told about our nation being favored by Heaven, and that the Providence of God watches over it: but so long as we see so much consternation in all parts of the country when there is but a single whisper against it, it indicates that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark, and that, after all, our national fabric is based upon a sandy foundation and cannot stand.

The old Anti-Slavery issues are now obsolete, and excite little feeling. The mere issue on the question of *immediate emancipation* as an abstract doctrine may now be made anywhere, and there will be no particular indignation manifested, and certainly no alarm felt. The time has been when that mere abstraction, unapplied to any party or to the Constitution or the "Union" of the country—that mere abstract doctrine has greatly distracted the land and made it as much as any man's life was worth to advocate in any part of the country. We, therefore, need not be told that this is a startling doctrine: we know it is. Every step has been startling. It is a startling work to break the yoke of oppression and to put tyranny down in the country (applause).

The American Union is the only God which this nation recognizes or serves. We are an idolatrous nation, and yet we marvel when we look across the Atlantic to the isles of the sea and see human beings making Gods with their own hands, of wood and silver and stone, and then falling down and worshipping them as Gods. To me this is not a more debasing idolatry than that which prevails in our own country, as it respects the American Union. This Union! it came down from Heaven like the new Jerusalem, and is to endure to the end of all time! I take it that our fathers made this Union precisely as men make their hats and shoes, and that they were greater than the Union they made. A single breath hath made and a single breath can unmake, if the people will have it so (cheers). Yet we tremble in its presence, dare not examine it; it is a God that rules over us, and we must be obedient to it. This is our national superstition and idolatry. It is well for us if any are getting their eyes open to see where we stand, and turning to the living and true God, to have him to rule over us. There is a good deal of veneration for our fathers; our so-called "great men" are never tired of praising those revolutionary sires and pilgrim fathers. This reverence for them is a mere sham. They do not revere their memories: and if those old men could come up from their graves, they would scout the parasites that are pretending to do them homage (cheers).

Who were our fathers? They were not time-servers nor dreamers, nor men afraid of their own shadows, who did not dare to do; they were not unwilling to make large sacrifices, to go barefoot. No: with all their mistakes, and all their crimes, they were earnest, self-sacrificing, daring men. And they who, in our times, are always consulting which way the popular wind is blowing, never daring to have sentiments of their own, are the men who profess to be filled with profound admiration of those old heroes, and claim to be possessed of a double amount of their spirit (cheers). Is not this most ridiculous. Those men whom they talk of revering so much were like us in this particular: they were disinterested, and they cried out, "*no union with the mother country.*" There the analogy is perfect. And some said in those times that it was treason; and some say that *our* doctrine is treason. But we have to say, in the language of Patrick Henry, "if it be treason, why make the most of it" (loud and continued applause).

What kind of veneration does Daniel Webster evince for our fathers when he protests against our looking at the structure of government, and assumes it to be unchangeable and immutable, and brands as a traitor and a disorganizer any man who suggest that there is a fault which may be vital, when their fathers declared it to be a self-evident truth that when any government becomes destructive of the ends of liberty, it is not only the right but the *duty* of the people to throw off such a government and constitute a new one (cheers).

Who then, are they in the middle of the 19th century, that are really doing justice to the memory of these old men, and are walking in their footsteps? It is the union Abolitionists of our country. Why it is treason to talk against the Union, and our influential papers are suggesting that it will be quite necessary to have some legislation on the subject. Treason! Why if it is a good thing it will bear any amount of talk; they say that it is an inconceivably good thing. You know if it is a good thing it will cry out, if it has a tongue, "try me and search me, and see if there be any evil in me." That is what goodness does, but that which cannot bear to be talked about.

You cannot bear the idea of giving up this glorious Union, can't you? What are you talking about? This one word has turned our country into a vast bedlam. What is this glorious Union? Look at the District of Columbia, and Maryland, and remember William Chaplin, and this is an illustration of the American Union. Whoever says that we have ever had a Union of the people of this country lies before God. Union! It implies oneness of rights, interests, and purposes, a common equality everywhere; and we are bound to know that what we have called and is called "Union" is nothing but the absolute supremacy of the South, and the slave-power; and that nothing has been done, national or otherwise in opposition to the will of that power. Why, then, should we so misuse language, as to say we have an Union, when we know that we are all under the lash of the slave driver?

You cannot give up this Union? Who are you? I am a member of the glorious Whig party! Well now would you like to have the liberty to travel all over this country? To be sure you would. And to speak your own thoughts? Certainly! Well, just go to the best Whig, South of Mason & Dixon's line, and say that you regard the negro as a man and a brother, and demand that he be immediately emancipated, see what will become of you as a Whig! So with the Democrat: he cannot give up this "glorious Union." Yet place him similarly and he will fare no better.

I am not dealing in imaginary things. We are in effect all dead men in the slave States. For the friends of the slave, there is in the South, one vast burial ground for us all. We can go to foreign countries far more safely than to the Southern States of our "glorious Union" and attack their infernal slave system. There is, therefore, no Union. Let us not be deceived: *there is no Union.* (Loud cheers.) There is no power under the name of "Union" that can prevent us from withdrawing to clear our skirts of the guilt of Slavery at the South.

Mr. GARRISON then referred to the position of a portion of the Anti Slavery party who held a different view of this subject. Speaking of them,

Mr. G. said: They are earnest men; I do not impeach their sincerity. They say we cannot occupy this ground of *no Union*. But we do not mean to let Slavery have any foothold in the Federal Government. We mean to amend the Constitution, and prevent any further extension of Slavery in the country. Are you quite sure of this? Try your hands politically and see whether you will do these things. What political party in the country has ever put forth a declaration that it will amend the constitution as regards the matter of Slavery? There is none! "This Fugitive Slave Bill must be repealed." On this point men are pretty generally in earnest. Repeal the Fugitive Slave bill! You will do that when you can roll back the tide of Niagara, you will get a dissolution of the Union far sooner! "But we intend to petition next Congress." I hope you will. We must learn by these experiments. You know petitions went last session by thousands, but all were rejected—laid on the table. Try next session, and see what can be done. I am no prophet; but I think I have seen sufficient of the workings of the slave power, to predict that neither you nor I will ever see this Fugitive Slave Bill repealed.

The slave power will not occupy this position long—It is full of the deceivableness of unrighteousness and is as adroit as its father, the devil. It will find us some new cause of excitement in which *this* will be forgotten. To make the nation forget this they will commit some act still more damning; and, while the people are talking about this, they will again precipitate the nation into some still more dreadful sin: it has been so in time past.

Mr. GARRISON then referred to the succession of Southern aggressions: The Annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and now the Fugitive Slave Bill. He said: Already is the slave power at work to make us forget about this last outrage. The determination to add Cuba to our country, is as clearly to be seen as anything the slave power has ever done. Millions of property in Cuba are in the hands of the slaveholders, and during the last twenty years a design on the part of American slaveholders has been manifested to revolutionize Cuba. And that is not all, St. Domingo and the whole of Mexico are to be added just so soon as the slave power chooses. This then is before us. There is no receding from or attempting to get round this matter. I give all credit to the sincerity of those of our friends to give an Anti-Slavery interpretation to the Constitution. How they can do so is, to me, a mystery. However, they must know that such an interpretation is regarded by the South as a disunion interpretation, as anything *we* could possibly utter.

But what is a dissolution of the Union? It is this: In the present compact we have agreed to allow the slave interest in Congress to elect by three-fifths of their slaves, and that representation is already in Congress.

For my own part, I do not believe that a more wicked compact was ever entered into since the foundation of the world.

You let three-fifths of these poor creatures, regarded only as *property* elect as human beings, for the devilish purpose of increasing the power of their tyrant masters to hold them more securely in bondage.

Now *we* say that we will not swear to aid in doing any such thing. It is a matter of conscience. I could no more do it than deny my God. I will not judge others.

Then as to its fulfilling the compact by allowing the slaveholder to hunt his slaves all over the country: I will do it when *I* can become a slaveholder and deny that man is *man*, not till then.

Will I swear that the physical power of this nation shall be given to protect the South from insurrection? I will not.

Whatever you have good in the Constitution is tinged with inhumanity, in protecting the property of the slaveholder. I cannot therefore sustain that instrument, because I am not at liberty to sustain some parts and reject others. It is the Constitution, the whole Consitution, and nothing but the Constitution.

And so I find a moral difficulty which I cannot overcome, and, for conscience sake, I must disfranchise myself. Is not that to be honest and consistent? and I hope still to serve the slave.

What matter is it, that we have technical differences as to the manner in which the slave shall be served? We *all* protest that Slavery is unconstitutional. I believe it is unconstitutional, because every man under that Constitution is entitled to a trial by jury, which is not granted by the Fugitive Slave Law. Whatever the opinions of our fathers, I maintain that they never intended that the citizens of this country should be arrested and liable as fugitive slaves, without the benefit of a trial by jury. But it is not this of which a true Anti-Slavery man complains: we protest against any man being put on trial to decide whether he is, or is not the property of another (loud applause).

Mr. Garrison next showed the utter impossibility of effecting an amendment of a constitution that allowed such a principle to be put into practice. He said: What then can we do? We are in this connection stripped of our moral power, convicted of criminality; and our own testimony against Slavery while sustaining such a Union, is, to a great extent, nullified.

Who can unite Liberty and Slavery? Nobody. I speak it reverently—God cannot unite them (hear, hear)! You know the South says she is for Slavery.—Whatever differences pervail in the Southern States, *all* agree on this point.

What we mean by having no union with slaveholders, is that we shall not *in any way* sustain Slavery. Some people talk as if we must not be seen talking in company with them. Not so. It means no intelligent action—co-operative action between the parties. If I were to say, "No union with robbers," you would all know I meant that I would not have you engage in robbery, or become in any way its abettor.

Sir, we mean that we will not help enslave anybody, or keep any one in Slavery, either directly or indirectly.

We are going to dissolve this Union, we are told, if we do not catch their slaves! If they require us to catch, or recognize the catching of their slaves, I would dissolve the Union.

It is possible that the end may be nearer than we imagine. Possibly we may have to suffer, the nation be convulsed; even the Son of God could not cast out devils without rending the body (applause). We are to suffer in our property, to eat bread that may be hard, and little of that. We are to have dark times.

But then it will be for a little while. The storm will pass by: the jubilee will be given to us. We shall drive Slavery from the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and shall be able, like "kindred drops, to mingle into one." There will be no more cause for bitterness or alienation.

This dissolution of the Union may be nearer than we imagine. When the difference commenced with the mother country, in 1775, there was no talk of separation. It was not until the next year; and then there was little talk; there was action. Let us, in giving this testimony against injustice, be willing to be disfranchised. It is not the end of the law for righteousness to vote.

Mr. Garrison's address was received with the deepest attention, and was repeatedly applauded. At its conclusion,

GEORGE THOMPSON was repeatedly and loudly called for, and at length came forward and spoke as follows: I merely rise to terminate the suspense of this audience by making an apology for my silence. I should feel it an act of great indiscretion to weaken by any speech of mine the effect of the admirable address we have just listened to.

No man can disguise from himself the importance of the topic that Mr. Garrison has discussed to-night. Its chief importance lies in this, that it is a question that must be discussed because it is one embedded in the great subject of the emancipation of three millions in this land. It is not a question for me to debate; it is peculiarly your own question. My province is simply to declare the principle which lies at the root of this great matter of American Slavery; and that principle is of universal application, that no man can have property in his fellow man.

If it be eternally wrong for a man to enslave his fellow man, then, my friends, the world, from its commencement to the present hour, has never before witnessed the commission of so colossal a crime as that of a deliberate and organized conspiracy on the part of twenty millions of men to enslave three millions of their fellow men. All other tyrannies from the beginning sink into insignificance in comparison with this. I cannot measure the guilt of your country, nor can you. Let the line down to the depths and bring it up again, and your exclamation will be, "Oh, the depths."

Rail at Russia, and Austria, and the tyrannies of the Old World! Go! hang your heads, and learn of Austrians and of Russians the first principles of human rights; and when you have set free a *nation in bonds*,—when you have humbled yourselves to the very dust,—when you have clothed yourselves in sack-cloth and ashes,—when you have purged the temple of liberty from the streams of blood that have flowed there for 75 years—when you have purged your Constitution from a compromise with sin,—when you have redeemed your land from universal depravity and pollution,—when you have silenced the clank of the fetter, the crack of the whip, and the sighing of the prisoner,—when you have done that, read lessons to Europe, and set to this world an example worthy of being followed. But tell then, any rebuke you utter to the nations of the Old World recoils in thunder tones upon yourselves, and you do but hurl those rebukes to come back echoed with a trumpet voice "BASE HYPOCRITES learn liberty at home, and learn that liberty consists in righteousness, and in using the strength which it gives to deliver the oppressed from their bonds."

[The most enthusiastic applause followed this burst of powerful eloquence, and it was some time before the speaker could resume.]

I can tell you this because I am a republican in soul. I can say to your country, "would that all the nations of the earth were even as thou art, save these bonds." (Applause.)

I tell you this, not as an enemy, but as a friend. I tell you this because I wish your country well, and because it never can be well with you until Slavery is abolished.

A nation in chains! and talk of sympathy with the Hungarians, and of sending a ship to bring to the shores of this country Kossuth! Why, if Kossuth be a consistent man, instead of bandying compliments with Lewis Cass, he would send him words that would scorch his very soul, and say "keep your compassion for 3,000,000 of your countrymen in chains! If you have sympathy to spare, pour it over the 3,000,000 of chattel slaves in your midst! Though banished from my country, from the banks of the Danube to the banks of the Bosphorus, my limbs wear no chains! No overseer drives me to labor in the morning! No tyrant's frowns wither my manhood! I am free, under the Sultan of Turkey, and surrounded by his protection! If you, Lewis Cass, or you Millard Fillmore, or you Daniel Webster, have a superfluity of sympathy, send it Southward, and let it console 3,000,000 of Americans in bonds! Kossuth has enough for himself and something to spare for them, and he makes a contribution to the slaves of America of the sympathy tendered to Patriot Hungarians!" (Loud applause.)

I shall doubt the patriotism and the love of liberty of every man who comes from revolutionary Europe to these shores, to accept the hospitality of slaveholders. (Cheers.) If he be a patriot, a lover of liberty, whether he fly from the banks of the Danube, the Seine, or the Tiber, let him go to New England and find a home with the persecuted and maligned Abolitionists of the country! Let him throw in his lot with them; let him range himself under the banner of "*No Union with Tyrants.*"

But let him not quit the tyranny of a crowned despot in Europe, to lay his manhood before 20,000,000 of confederated Republican (?) despots in this country!—(Applause.)

The question we have to do with is the right of man to make property in man; that is the whole question. It is that which is disturbing the entire frame-work of your republican fabric—which gives the lie to every profession you make—which makes you a bye-word and a hissing among all the nations.

In this cause it is the duty of every man to help the Abolitionists of America. There is not a man on earth that has not an interest in this great question. America is the world's property. She has professed to raise her institutions upon self-evident truths, and to make them subservient to, and promotive of liberty and justice throughout the world. We have the right to demand of you that you do not assassinate liberty in the home and sanctuary to which you have invited her. We have the right to expect that instead of retarding the progress of freedom in the world, you should advance it, by a pure and consistent example.

You do not do so; and America in England is a laughing stock in proportion as she brags of the liberty that you have in this country. Is there any virtue in that? There was virtue in your fathers throwing off the yoke of the mother country; the virtue of sacrifice, of devotion, of bravery, of dissolving old and endeared associations.

But I cannot imagine any creature living so destitute of any merit as a republican born in this country, making a boast of being free because he cannot help it.

Mr. T. then referred to the fact that many persons were yet uninterested in this question, because they had yet to be awakened to a sense of its enormity. This

but furnished additional and strong evidence of the necessity of prosecuting the cause with renewed vigor. They looked for success from the effects of a renovated public sentiment. In England, in carrying all reforms, the question was taken to the people, and through the pressure from without the question was successfully carried. It had been so there with the Anti-Slavery, and all reformatory movements. So Slavery must be abolished in this country. When the public sentiment of America was renovated and not till then, would the divines discourse sound doctrine. At present they seemed, by a misterious coincidence, to write their sermons according to a model sent from the office of the Secretary of State.

They must not attempt to cope with the defenders of Slavery with their own weapons. In politics they would beat them. They must get into a higher atmosphere; it would choke them to follow there. (Applause.) Take your weapons out of the heavenly armory and they will not have a shield to cover them.

They had a proof of the importance in which the cause was held. Did they think that the ready writers would be there from New York if they did not fear the efforts they were making; if they did not know that there was a potency in what they were doing. He had only to tell them that in the results of this agitation *their* worst fears would be more than realized. He had often been asked if he could by giving the word, emancipate the slaves of America, would he do it at once. He had as often replied, "I would not stop to say it, *I would think it!*"

He had no fears of the results of emancipation.

Mr. T. concluded his address as follows:—Whenever this system shall fall, not only shall the skies be as bright and as stable as ever, but a sun more glorious than ever shone upon your country shall, in that glad hour, arise, and beneath its kindly and impartial beams the millions of this country shall rejoice in a liberty that shall know no *discrimination*, and in a prosperity that shall know no end. (Loud and long continued applause.)

The Convention then adjourned until Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock.

MR. SUMNER'S LETTER.

The great contest in Massachusetts which resulted in the election of Mr. Charles Sumner to the Senate of the United States for the next six years, has been just rounded by a letter from him to the Legislature signifying his acceptance of the trust. It is a document bearing all the marks of his copious and polished style, and with its rhetorical execution no fault can be found. Indeed, it seems to give very general satisfaction to a wide and not usually unanimous circle of politicians. It is so emphatic a contradiction of the imputations made by his enemies upon his loyalty to the Union and the Constitution, that they seem rather at a nonplus what to say about it, and many of the Whig and Democratic papers copy it without comment. Its generalities are so much in the strain in which they have themselves been in the habit of indulging, that they cannot insinuate that they do not bear the same gloss which they wish to be put upon their own, without raising the question as to the unmistakeable and unchangeable meaning of their own favorite expressions. That he does mean by his use of words the same thing that they do is simply impossible. And yet the forms of expression are almost identical. It is indeed strange to hear so plain-spoken and downright a man as Charles Sumner giving utterance to what sounds so much like the Websterian twaddle of the hour, and what cannot be understood in the same sense by the various parties who admire it or are silenced by it.

We do not find fault with Mr. Sumner for being a friend to the Union. Of course he is. If a man accepts an office which can only be approached by an oath to support the Constitution which is the bond of the Union, it is to be supposed that he means to do what he swears to do. If so, what need of any further protestations? If a man on 'Change is loud in his professions of honesty in his mercantile transactions, is it any additional weight to his credit? If a woman makes vociferous protestations of her virtue, does it strengthen or damage her reputation in the opinion of the bystanders? We think that he would have better consulted his personal dignity and his political influence, rightly understood, if he had refused to pay the tribute of cant now demanded of every public man and had stepped over the threshhold of the Senate, as he had so long waited before it, disdaining to give any expression of his opinions, except that contained in his public acts and authentic speeches. We admit that he honorably distinguished himself from almost every other candidate for high office in thus scorning to purchase promotion at the price of a little of concession to the vaporing clamor of the time. We only regret that he should have given his enemies an apparent, we are sure only an *apparent*, ground for pretending that he has in any degree shifted his position and approximated to theirs. There are times when the enunciation of the simplest truism is capable of the grossest misconstruction;—when a form of words, by common consent and acceptance, intends something very different from its grammatical and logical meaning. In such cases a man cannot be too careful to explain his meaning, if he do not use the formula in the sense attributed to it, at the time.

For example, the words "Union and Constitution" mean just now the Fugitive Slave Law and the other Compromise measures. When men in general, politicians or editors, profess their especial loyalty to the Union and their devotion to the Constitution, they are understood to mean that they are content that the Fugitive Slave Law should be executed, that Slavery should be allowed to make its way into New Mexico and Utah, if it can, and that the agitation of the Slavery Question is to cease. This definition is not necessarily conveyed by the words, but our Lexicographers at Washington have settled their meaning, and when the words are used these are the ideas conveyed by them. The syllogism, such as it is, runs thus: The Union and the Constitution must exist; but, they cannot exist without Slavecatching and Slavery Extension; therefore, Slavecatching and Slavery Extension are identical with the Constitution and the Union. Now when Mr. Sumner speaks of himself as "the servant of the Union," of the "twice blessedness of the Union," of the "master principles which the Union was established to secure," does he use the words in the sense in which Daniel Webster is understood when he talks in this way? We do not believe he does. Whence arose the outcry against him as an Abolitionist and a Disunionist while his election was pending? From his Faneuil Hall Speech on the Fugitive Bill; his avowed opinions on the innate immorality of Slavecatching; and his declared intention of agitating for the Repeal of the Bill and the use of all Constitutional means for the extinction of Slavery. Has he changed these opinions? We do not believe that he has. But is not his Letter of Acceptance so construed by the enemy? We are sure of it. We hold that Mr. Sumner owes another letter to the Anti-Slavery and the Pro-Slavery Public, to inform them what is his present position as to the specific questions now dividing the country. We acquit him in the fullest manner of the slightest intention of deceiving either the one or the other; but we do think he cannot fail of doing it, as he now stands before the country.

We need not say that our appreciation of the value of the Union is very different from that of Mr. Sumner. He thinks that it is "the powerful guardian of the repose and happiness of thirty-one sovereign States." By this we suppose he means the "repose and happiness" of the inhabitants thereof. We think if Mr. Sumner, in pursuance of his Constitutional rights of Free Speech and of citizenship in all the States, should make no worse Speech than his Faneuil Hall one in South Carolina or Georgia, he would find that there is no power in the Union to protect or to avenge him. We are very sure that the Union was not the "powerful guardian" of his own State when she was kicked out of South Carolina in the person of Mr. Hoar, for attempting to bring an action in the Constitutional Courts of the United States to try the question whether South Carolina had a right to sell the free-born citizens of Massachusetts into life long Slavery and put the price of their blood into her treasury! Or when the same State, and Louisiana, made it felony, punishable like burglary or highway robbery, for any person to commence an action in the United States Courts for such a purpose! Mr. Sumner may regard such a Union as this as "a fellowship of States held in fraternal union;" we look upon it as a bare and cowardly subjection of the non-slaveholding States to their natural enemies. We affirm that the Government of the United States has even failed in the first duty of a Civil Government, the protection of its individual members and especially of its most helpless ones. What protection we enjoy of our rights of person and property we owe not to the United States, but to the Single States under which we live. Mr. Sumner thinks that the Union can never be dissolved. It cannot be dissolved, because it does not exist. The Constitution is a delusion; the Union is a snare. It is mighty for making Presidents, Ambassadors and Generals, but utterly powerless for the protection of its citizens in their just rights. A Government that fails of the essential element of protecting its parts is no Government. It is only Anarchy or Despotism, disguised under the forms of Law.

We do not precisely understand, either, how Mr. Sumner proposes to act, in his Senatorial capacity, "as the servant of Massachusetts, mindful of the sentiments uttered by her successive Legislatures," and yet not admit the possibility of a Dissolution of the Union. We think if he will study her Legislative records attentively, he will find that she has plainly contemplated such a possibility; for instance, in view of the Annexation of Texas and of the Extension of Slavery consequent on the Mexican War. Does not Mr. Sumner think that contingencies may arise to justify a separation of the non-slaveholding States, or of any of them, from the Union? Does he think that, since the purchase of Louisiana, the Annexation of Texas and the Conquest of Mexico, there is any Constitutional Union, such as existed in the contemplation or the imagination of "the great triumvirate of American Freedom," even though two of them did hold men as chattels? These are questions for Mr. Sumner to consider. There are few men whom we honor more than he for his private virtues and public acts. We value his friendship and are jealous of his fame. It is therefore that we have thus frankly expressed our disapprobation of the tone and expressions of his Letter of Acceptance. We think that Letter is not worthy of him; that it places him, not in a true, but a false, position before the Country. We hope, and we believe, that he will mark his political career by words and deeds which shall be incapable of being mistaken or misrepresented.—E. Q.

MESSRS. SEDGWICK AND THOMPSON.

Those of our readers who were present at the Anual Meeting will remember, and those who were not will have read in the report, of the passage at eloquence between Messrs. Sedgwick and Thompson, and all will peruse with interest and satisfaction the following correspondence, which we copy from the *Syracuse Journal*:

Mr. Editor: I am sure the following correspondence, between two high-minded men, will be most grateful to all who witnessed, on Friday evening, the unhappy disagreement that took place between them at the City Hall.

Yours respectfully,
S. J. May.

George Thompson, Esq.:

My Dear Sir: I regret exceedingly the unpleasant occurrence of last evening. I am sure I understood the very severe remark made by you as applied to me, and expressly intended for me, and was irritated exceedingly. As it was not so intended, I am very sorry to have given it that construction. If it had come from almost any other source, it would not have moved me; but my high opinion of you, and your acknowledged standing and influence, gave it peculiar force.

I should feel the less regret, if this occurrence had happened with one of my own countrymen. I particularly regret that I have injured the feelings of a stranger, who has suffered much injustice at the hands of some of our countrymen, and that I have said one word which may be construed by any person into a justification of such attacks.

I have for many years felt a strong regard for you, as one of the noblest and most eloquent reformers of the age. The treatment which you experienced on your first visit to this country, filled me with the liveliest indignation, and on that account I watched your subsequent rise to influence and fame in your own country, with peculiar pleasure. Your present visit to this country, has given to no one greater pleasure than to me. Your bearing has been manly and noble under the grossest and most brutal attacks of a corrupt and venal press, and has raised you in the estimation of our people.

You are at entire liberty to make such use of this note as you may see fit. With assurances of continued and undiminished regard, I am

Very truly your friend,
C. B. Sedgwick.

May 10th, 1851.

Syracuse, N. Y., May 10, 1851.

My Dear Sir: I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning's date. I have perused it with the liveliest emotions of pleasure;—emotions arising, not more from the fact, that you have done justice to the motives and intentions which influenced *me* last evening, than from the circumstance, that you have done justice to your own generous and noble nature. Let me follow your example.

I deeply regret, that during my speech, I was not sufficiently collected and self-controlled, to make it apparent beyond the possibility of mistake and misconstruction, that the strong language which I employed was not in the most remote sense meant to apply to you, but to that Northern apologist of Slavery, who, without one of the excuses of the Southern slaveholder, deliberately and gratuitously defends the institution, and makes it his business to misrepresent, denounce and vilify the friends of the oppressed. Let me also assure you that my remarks upon the charge brought against Abolitionists, of harshness and injustice, were intended rather for a class of persons in the Free States, who seek to justify their own indifference by such complaints, than for yourself, although I am bound to confess, that the general vindication which I deemed it my duty to offer, was suggested by the observations which fell from you. Permit me, further, to say, that the objects which I and those with whom I co-operate in the Anti-Slavery cause have in view, in our epithets, and (so-called) denunciations, is to fix, if possible, a just and salutary stigma upon the transcendant crime of making merchandize of human and immortal beings, and upon the perpetrators of the atrocity; and not to hold up the slaveholder as a victim to be visited with special vengeance from his fellow creatures. Were we allowed to accomplish the utmost that we aim at, our efforts would embrace the redemption of the wrong doer from his infamy and danger, equally with the deliverance of the slave from his degradation and chains.

I very gratefully appreciate the magnanimous sentiments you are pleased to express towards me, and can now scarcely deplore the momentary collision which my error and your consequent irritation occasioned, since it has led to a development of character which has raised you so much higher in my estimation and esteem.

Trusting that this mutual explanation will cement an acquaintance which I had sincere pleasure in forming, believe me, most truly,

Your friend,
Geo. Thompson.

C. B. Sedgwick, Esq.

THOMAS SIMS.

By a gentlemen recently from Savannah, says *The* (Boston) *Commonwealth*, we learn that Sims had received one flogging of thirty-nine stripes — the extent allowed by the law, and was to receive another for the crime of running away from Mr. James Potter. He was promised that the last flogging should be remitted if he would ask Mr Potter's forgiveness for the offence, but he refused. The slaveholders in Savannah were indignant at the Bostonians for having sent Sims back *in the cabin*, as they had 'spoilt the nigger!'

—We learn also from a gentleman more recently from Savannah, probably, than the one referred to by *The Commonwealth*, that Sims had been turned out to labor at field-work on Potter's plantation, where it is expected, doubtless, that he will soon be taught to forget his idle dream of liberty, and learn to be contented and happy in that sphere of usefulness which the providence of God and our blessed institutions have awarded him. If the seventy-eight lashes, with an occasional remembrancer from the overseer's whip, while at work, have not brought him to this blessed state of repose and thankfulness, then a judicious application of the paddle might quicken his sense of his privileges and enjoyments.

A Patriot of the Olden Time.—Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr., of Boston, in a speech at the Free Soil Meeting in Worcester, while the Sims case was pending, told the following characteristic anecdote of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who has not, like some of his contemporaries forgotten in his old age the principles and aspirations which animated his youth. The young men of Boston who have hastened to stoop to the base companionship of slave-catchers should feel rebuked by the very presence of this representative of the men who began life with the Republic which they hoped to be the asylum and not the mausoleum of liberty.

Just as I was coming up to the cars I met on the street President Quincy, whose head is bowed with the snow of 80 winters. He stopped me, and it was indeed refreshing to find one aged, venerable man of the upper class of the city of Boston, who has his heart in the right place. He told me that his heart felt mortified and degraded. When the law passed, he said, I did think the moral sense of the community would not enforce it; I said that it never would be. But now I find that my fellow citizens are not only *submissive* to, but that they are earnestly active for its enforcement. The Boston of 1851 is not the Boston of 1775. Boston has now become a mere ship: a place for buying and selling goods; and I suppose also of *buying and selling men*.

☞ We must crave the patience of such of our correspondents as are awaiting the appearance of their Communications, now quietly disturbing nobody in our pigeon-holes. The report of the Annual Meeting is first in order, and that disposed of, we shall find room for all the *good* things that our kind friends are disposed to send us; good things, that is, which are Anti-Slavery, as it is to that reform and that alone that *The Standard* is devoted—a fact which is sometimes forgotten.

☞ We should in justice to the Secretaries of the Meeting at Syracuse have stated, last week, that their report was purposely brief and of a somewhat perfunctory character, inasmuch as they reckoned upon the fuller and more complete account to be given in the phonographic report of Mr. Bond. This report, to which we are devoting so large a space, we shall probably complete in the next number.

Communications.

EDUCATION OF COLORED CHILDREN.

The annual election for Officers of the "New York Society for the promotion of Education among Colored Children," in this city, was held in the basement of St. Philip's Church, Monday, 12th inst., at 4 P. M. The following within named persons were elected for the ensuing year ending May, 1852: President, William P. Powell; Vice President, John Berrian; Secretary, Philip A. White; Treasurer, James McCune Smith; Board of Trustees, Henry Scott, Samuel E. Cornish, George Lawrence, John S. Kenney, Louis H. Armand, Nelson Cook, Edward Felix, Albro Lyons, David Treadwell, John J. Brown, John Mitchel, John B. Wilson, Ellis A. Potter, Edward Latham, Charles Horton, Patrick H. Reason, Charles B. Ray.

At a special meeting held in the same place, Thursday evening, may 15th, the Board of Trustees met and completed its organization under the following proceedings:

Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees: In accepting the office of President of this Society and of this Board, I do it under a deep sense of duty due to my fellow citizens and to the popular cause of Juvenile Education. I do assure you that no one connected with this Society can appreciate more than myself the enjoyment of this precious boon of mental cultivation; because my early privileges were limited to the simple rudiments of the then unimproved system of Education, I am but poorly qualified to judge of its intrinsic merits; yet I feel a deep interest in promoting and extending to the rising generation all the educational advantages within our reach.

Gentlemen: Let each and all of us remember that, in order to carry out the letter and spirit of the Charter granted by the people of this State, we must endeavor to be faithful to the trust confided to us by the suffrages of our fellow citizens. There is also a great principle involved in this separate school legislation, but no selfish views to adopt. We have proclaimed our fitness to superintend and extend the means of Education to thousands of children unprovided for; we have claimed the right to *act* separately, though reluctantly unwilling to yield the principle, or to strengthen this invidious distinction; yet we are *compelled* to this last resort, and make the sacrifice from motives of necessity, or else suffer our children to grow up in ignorance, vice and dissipation. Here is your duty, and there the principle. The contest for educational rights commensurate to the wants of our children of this State, and the progress of the age, must be commenced anew. Many of our children are being qualified, or are competent to be admitted, and actually are knocking at the doors of the Free Academy in this city for admission—the common property of all the people of this State. We are told that they will not be allowed to enter (although unlawful to refuse them) on account of their *color*.

We must not shrink from our duty. Our children must be *admitted* to the highest branches of Education, or else the State must make provision for this unwarrantable outrage upon the rights of sixty thousand tax-paying colored citizens.

Gentlemen: This Society has been in successful operation for nearly four years; hundreds of children have been brought under its influences, benefitted and rescued from the snares of idleness, and saved from the temptations of this City of Mysteries. We have not accomplished all the good we could wish; but in the teeth of the most violent opposition, unparalleled in the history of political organizations, and amid the flames of discord among our own people, while misrepresentations have been brought to bear upon our rude and inexperienced efforts, misrepresentations which could result, if their purpose was accomplished, in our destruction and in that no less of their authors, yet we are still in existence, contending for the right, in opposition to the wrong and foul slander of our enemies; and together with the Society, teachers, scholars, parents and friends, in their confidence let us prosecute the work with redoubled diligence.

Finally, gentlemen, in order to promote and carry into successful operation all of these interests, I rely mainly upon your co-operation, good judgment, promptness, good order, and strict attention to your duties and all the regular and special meetings of the Board.

The following list are the Standing Committees for the years 1851 and 1852:

Committee on Application—John Berrian, James McCune Smith, Philip A. White, Edward Felix, Henry Scott.

Committee on Supplies—Albro Lyons, Charles Horton, Edward Felix.

Committee on Printing—Louis H. Armand, John J. Brown, John B. Wilson.

Committee on Teachers—George Lawrence, Samuel E. Cornish, Patrick H. Reason.

Committee on Communications from Trustees, Teachers, and Reports—Samuel E. Cornish, John Mitchel, Charles B. Ray.

Finance Committee—John S. Kenney, Ellis A. Potter, Charles Horton.

Committee on Annual Report—Philip A. White, Nelson Cook, George Lawrence.

Committee on Buildings and Repairs—James McCune Smith, Ellis A. Potter, George Lawrence.

Section School No. 2, Thomas Street—James McCune Smith, Louis H. Armand, George Lawrence, Charles B. Ray, Ellis A. Potter.

Section School No. 1, Centre Street—John S. Kenney, Nelson Cook, David Treadwell, John B. Wilson, John Mitchel.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING, BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

At a PUBLIC MEETING held at the BROADMEAD ROOMS, on Wednesday Evening last, for the purpose of welcoming William and Ellen Craft, and for the consideration of the question of American Slavery,

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., in the Chair,

the following Resolutions were passed unanimously:

Proposed by Rev J. S. Pearsall: seconded by Rev. G. H. Davis,

1.—That this Meeting, whilst deeply lamenting that the cruel Fugitive Slave Law is compelling large numbers of colored persons to fly from the so-called "Free States," of America, to avoid being carried back to the wretched bondage from which they have escaped, most cordially welcomes William and Ellen Crafts, to England rejoicing with them that they have not only, amidst much difficulty and peril, achieved their deliverance from Slavery, but have also eluded the grasp of the slave-hunters in their home at Boston; and, through the continued protection of a kind Providence, have been permitted to leave the land of oppression, and to find an asylum in that country whose air and soil are free to the colored, as they are to the white, child of God.

Proposed by Rev. T. S. Crisp; seconded by Rev. Wm. James,

2.—The course which the American clergy generally have taken with reference to the Fugitive Slave Bill, appearing to this meeting to be inconsistent with the claims of Christianity, and with the duty of ministers of the Gospel towards the oppressed,

Resolved,

That it be earnestly recommended to the ministers and congregations of this city to take such steps as to them may appear effectual for bringing this important subject under the consideration of their several religious bodies at the approaching anniversaries in the month of May; both for the purpose of urging the propriety of not admitting into their pulpits any American clergymen who have either directly or indirectly given their sanction to the unrighteous Fugitive Slave Law; and of expostulating with the brethren of their respective denominations in the United States, upon the lamentable fact that the whole system of American Slavery, with all its terrible and demoralising consequences, is now unquestionably receiving its main support from the Churches of that country.

Proposed by J. C. Neild; seconded by W. Wells Brown,

3.—Whereas the Fugitive Slave Bill recently enacted in the United States, not only violates the precepts of the Gospel and the dictates of humanity, but expressly requires that all citizens should take arms at the command of the civil magistrate, to assist in restoring the fugitive to bondage

Resolved,

That this meeting desire to draw the attention of the Peace Congress Committee to this subject, in the hope of inducing that body to urge their brethren in America not to send any delegate to the approaching Peace Convention, who has not openly testified his opposition to this bill.

Proposed by J. B. Estlin: seconded by C. H. Greenly,

4.—That this Meeting, contemplating with much solicitude the fierce contest between freedom and oppression—conscience and law, now going on in the United States, desirous to express its respect and admiration for all those courageous friends of the slave, who, in the face of imprisonment and fine, have pronounced their determination to obey God rather than man.—And in an especial manner would this meeting offer its tribute of sympathy and gratitude, and its assurance of co-operation and aid to that faithful band of Abolitionists forming the American Anti-Slavery Society, who, undaunted by peril, persecution, and calumny, have, during the last twenty years, been awakening their country to a sense of its guilt and danger, and to whose persevering exertions in the cause of human rights the slave's hope of deliverance is mainly indebted.

Proposed by the Rev. William James; seconded by John C. Neild,

5.—That the cordial thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Ladies, of the Bristol Anti-Slavery Society, who, uninfluenced by the supineness and apathy of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have directed public attention to the disgrsceful support given by many of the Ministers of religion in America to the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law; for their valuable exertions in arranging this meeting; and for inviting Mr. and Mrs. Craft to Bristol.

Edward Thomas, Chairman.

The Chairman having left the Chair, it was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously,

6.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to Edward Thomas, Esq., for his kindness in taking the chair and his able conduct therein.

CORRECTION.

Mr. Gay—*Sir:* In my letter published May 8th, I wish to correct a mistake. The name of the paper alluded to in the first line should have been *The Sunday Times* instead of *The Sunday Dispatch*.

May 19, 1851. W. P. Powell.

Miscellaneous News.

—Accident to Mr. Giddings.—We learn from the Cleveland *True Democrat*, that Hon. J. R. Giddings met with a severe accident on Friday last. He fell from a wagon and broke two of his ribs. Though severely injured, his situation is not regarded as dangerous. This will, of course, prevent his attendance at the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which commenced at Utica to-day.

—Our Sentiments Exactly.—"A little more than eighty years ago," says the *Richmond Republican*, "the imports of Virginia amounted to $4,085,472, and those of New York to $867,200. In 1849 the imports of Virginia amounted to $241,935, and the exports in domestic produce $3,363,422: the imports of New York to $92,567,379, and her exports $36,788,215. Such facts as these cannot be too frequently repeated. *They are burningly disgraceful, but if a red hot coal on the back of the terrapin will start him on his travels, it cannot be applied too soon or too often.*"

—We learn from an intelligent colored man, that from 16 to 20 fugitive slaves pass through this city weekly to Canada. They are often nearly destitute, and he is compelled, out of his meagre resources, to give food and lodgings to many of them.—*Oswego Jour.*

—Mr. Webster's Letter to The Great Stakes.—Some benevolent gentlemen in this city, desirous of expressing their commiseration for Mr. Webster under the humiliations of one kind and another to which he has been compelled to submit during the past few months, but at the same time being too profitably employed here about their business to go on to Washington for the purpose, have invited the Secretary of State to come on "to meet them in this city, at some period "convenient to himself, in order that they may express "to him in person their deep and grateful appreciation "of his devotion to the great public interests of his "country." Mr. Webster's reply appears in the morning papers, and we are sorry to perceive that the learned Secretary's notions of grammar have become about as unsound as his political principles. He says:

Washington, May 9th, 1851.

Gentlemen—I have received your communication by the hands of Mr. Williams, and I acknowledge myself overwhelmed by this new proof of regard from the city of New York. An invitation to visit that city, from so many thousands of "friends of the Union, without distinction of party," as much surpasses my merit as it exceeds my expectation. I have read the *names*, and, as you suggest may be probable, many of them are known to me, and I know *them* (*a*) to be men of high honor and character, of business and industry, of *great stakes* (*b*) in the country, and active supporters and props of all the institutions of benevolence and charity, morality and religion, literature and science, which adorn the great commercial metropolis of the United States.

Gentlemen: I have no wish to appear in public for purposes of ceremony or entertainment; nor can I say that I feel the necessity of any occasion at present to express my sentiments in regard to public affairs. All that I think, and all that I feel, on the great topics of the hour, is (*c*) concealed from nobody. But, notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding that my public duties are likely to demand my attention rather imperatively for some weeks to come, I yet cannot persuade myself to say that I may not, at no distant time, make an effort to meet my friends in New York.

One thing, gentleman, is certain; that if I address you at any time, you will hear no change of tone, nor any faltering of voice, in support of that cause which is dear to your hearts and to mine.

With grateful and profound regard,
I remain, gentlemen,
Your friend and obliged humble servant,
Daniel Webster.

To Messrs. George Griswold and others.

(*a*) The editor of the complete edition of Mr. Webster's works, now in course of preparation in Boston, is requested to ascertain and state in a foot note to this letter, or in any other more convenient way, whether the writer referred to the "names" or to the persons they belonged to, as "being men of high honor and character, and of great stakes in the country."

(*b*) They may also ascertain whether "stakes" is not a misprint for "shakes," and if the learned writer did not mean to say that he knew the men to be "great shakes in the country."

(*c*) Lindley Murray, who used to be a good authority in questions of grammar before the passage of the Compromise bills, has a rule which requires that verbs shall agree with the nominative case in *number* and person. Unless that rule has been abrogated by some cabinet circular, it strikes us that Mr. Webster was rather premature in returning his thanks, and that fifty dollars the other day, to his old school teacher.—*Evening Post.*

——Charles Sumner's Letter of Acceptance.—*Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:*—I have received by the hands of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, a certificate, that, by concurrent votes of the two branches of the Legislature, namely, by the Senate on the 22d day of January, and by the House of Representatives, on the 24th day of April, I was duly elected in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, a Senator to represent the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States for the term of six years, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1851.

If I were to follow the customary course I should receive this in silence. But the protracted and unprecedented contest, which ended in my election; the interest it awakened; the importance universally conceded to it; the ardor of opposition and the constancy of support, which it aroused; also the principles which more than ever before among us, it brought into discussion, seem to justify, what my own feelings irresistibly prompt, a departure from this rule. It, beyond these considerations, any apology be needed for thus directly addressing the Legislature, I may find it in the example of an illustrious predecessor, whose clear and venerable name will be a sufficient authority.

The trust conferred upon me is one of the most weighty which a citizen can receive. It concerns the grandest interests of our own Commonwealth, and also of the Union, whereof we are an indissoluble part. Like every post of eminent duty, it is a post of eminent honor. A personal ambition, such as I cannot confess, might be satisfied to possess it. But when I think of what it requires, I am obliged to say, that its honors are all eclipsed in my sight by its duties.

Your appointment finds me in a private station, with which I am entirely content. But this is not all. For the first time in my life, I am now called to political office. With none of the experience, so amply possessed by others, to smooth the way of labor, I might well hesitate. But I am cheered by the generous confidence, which, throughout a lengthened contest, persevered in sustaining me, and by the conviction, that, amid all seeming differences of party, the sentiments, of which I am the known advocate, and which led to my original selection as a candidate, are dear to the hearts of a large majority of the people of this Commonwealth. I derive, also, a most grateful consciousness of personal independence from the circumstance, which I deem it frank and proper thus publicly to declare and place on record, that this office comes to me, unsought, and undesired.

Acknowledging the right of my country to the service of her sons, wherever she chooses to place them, and with a heart full of gratitude that a sacred cause has been permitted to triumph through me, I now accept the post of Senator.

I accept it as the servant of Massachusetts; mindful of the sentiments solemnly uttered by her successive Legislatures; of the genius which inspires her history; and of the men, her perpetual pride and ornament, who breathed into her that breath of Liberty which early made her an example to her sister States. In such a service, the way, though new to my footsteps, will be illuminated by lights which cannot be missed.

I accept it as the servant of the Union, bound to study and maintain, with equal patriotic care, the interests of all parts of our country—to discountenance every effort to loosen any of those ties by which our fellowship of States is held in fraternal company, and to oppose all *sectionalism*, whether it appear in unconstitutional efforts by the North to carry so great a boon into the Slave States, or in unconstitutional efforts by the South, aided by Northern allies, to carry the *sectional* evil of Slavery into the Free States—or in whatsoever efforts it may make to extend the *sectional* domination of Slavery over the National Government. With me the 'Union' is twice blessed—first, as the powerful guardian of the repose and happiness of thirty-one sovereign States clasped by the endearing name of Country, and next, as the model and beginning of that all-embracing federation of States, by which Unity, Peace and Concord will finally be organized among the Nations; nor do I believe it possible, whatever may be the delusion of the hour, that any part thereof can be permanently lost from its well-compacted bulk. *E Pluribus Unum* is stamped upon the National coin, the National territory, and the National heart. Though composed of many parts, united into one, the Union is separable only by a crash which shall destroy the whole.

Entering now upon the public service, I venture to bespeak for what I may do or say that candid judgment which I trust always to extend to others, but which, I am well aware, the prejudices of party too rarely concede. I may fail in ability; but not in sincere efforts to promote the general weal. In the conflicts of opinion, natural to the atmosphere of liberal institutions, I may err; but I trust never to forget the prudence, which should temper firmness, or the modesty which becomes the consciousness of right. If I decline to recognize as my guides any of the men of to-day, I shall feel safe, while I follow the master principles which the Union was established to secure, and lean for support on the great triumvirate of American Freedom—Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. And since true politics are simply morals applied to public affairs, I shall find constant assistance from those everlasting rules of right and wrong, which are a law alike to individuals and communities; nay, which constrain the Omnipotent God in all self-imposed bonds.

Let me borrow, in conclusion, the language of another:

"I see my duty; that of standing up for the liberty of my country; and whatever difficulties and discouragements lie in my way, I dare not shrink from it; and I rely on that Being, who has not left to us the choice of duties, that while I shall conscientiously discharge mine, I shall not finally lose my reward."

These are the words of Washington, uttered in the early darkness of the American Revolution. The rule of duty is the same for the lowly and the great; and I hope it may not seem presumptuous in one so humble as myself to adopt his determination, and to avow his confidence.

I have the honor to be, fellow-citizens,
With sincere regard,
Your faithful friend and servant.
Charles Sumner.

Boston, May 14, 1851.

——A Fugitive Senator in a Fix.—A correspondent of the Albany *Evening Journal*, writing from Ovid, states that ex-Senator Stanton, one of the *runaways*, held a meeting there on the evening of the 9th, and spoke two hours in defense of the resigning Senators and against the Canal Bill. After he sat down, one of his hearers rose and offered a resolution condemning his course and that of his associates, and in favor of the Canal Enlargements. The Chairman put the resolution. There was evidently a large majority for it. Stanton got the floor and ranted against it—said it was the same spirit he had met at Oswego—that the resolution attacked his character, and he wanted to speak two hours to it if it was to be passed. The audience said, "Very well, it is a pleasant night, we can stay; go on." He was then in a worse fix than ever. One of his friends moved an adjournment, but the audience thought the meeting was not over, so the motion was voted down by a large majority. And now came the doughty Senator's principles into practice again. He got the Chairman to resign and to declare the meeting dismissed.—*Tribune.*

——The Slave Case.—A very interesting case was yesterday decided in the County Court by Judge Morrison; his Honor's opinion can be seen in another column. The case was thus: A Mr. Callaway brought a negro boy (a slave) with him from the States some eight months ago. The boy worked for him here the same as at home; but when Mr. C. desired to take him home with him he declined going, and the Court has decided that he need not go.

With the decision itself no one will be disposed to find fault, except perhaps the gentleman who has lost his property; but we must confess that we are not at all pleased with the ground on which the decision rests, viz: That there was no *proof* that the boy ever was a slave, or that Mr. Callaway ever owned him. We confess this does not seem to us to be treating the question as it deserves. The rights of the parties ought not to hinge on such a point at all; it is not fair for either that they should; the case embraced the whole of the question as to whether slaves brought into this State continue to be slaves or not; here was the real point and this has not been touched at all. Suppose that Mr. Callaway *had* proved his right of property in the boy; suppose the papers were all there, and the evidence was clear and distinct; would he have been handed over to him or not? From the present decision the inference is, that he would; an inference hardly reconcilable with the law as it stands.

The Constitution of the State, (Art. 1, Sec. 18,) sets forth expressly that neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be *tolerated* in this State. There can be no doubt that this clause afforded in itself sufficient ground for deciding against the respondent. If Slavery is not to be *tolerated* here, as soon as a slave is brought into the country he must be free *ipso facto*. He is free by the Constitution. Why then base the decision on the plea that the title to the property was not proved? A plea which renders the decision unless in any succeeding case, and establishes (by inference) a dangerous precedent. We would certainly rather have seen the decision based on different grounds, as the circumstances of the case, in our opinion, would justify it.

It may be a judicial evading the responsibility of a decision on the merits, or a lawyer's partiality for technical issues that room may be afforded for future litigation.—*San Francisco Standard.*

DEATHS.

Morton.—At Philadelphia, 15th inst., Samuel G. Morton, M. D., in the 53d year of his age.

Hale.—In Baltimore, 17th inst., Sarah Everett, eldest daughter of Hon. Nathan Hale, of Boston.

AN IMPOSTOR.

Pawtucket, 4th mo. 25th, 1851.

Dear Friend Garrison:

On the fore part of this week, a colored indivdual called on me, representing himself to be a fugitive slave from the vicinity of Baltimore; that he was owned by one James Brown, and that his name was Samuel Ward; that he escaped about three weeks since, with his wife and two children, whom he had left in Norwich, Conn., in the care of friends there, to solicit money to enable them to proceed to Canada. He is well calculated to deceive, telling a good story in a very simple, unaffected manner. I called with him on several friends in this place, and collected some $10 or $12.

In showing his papers, containing the names of individuals who had already contributed to his wants, he dropped a card of E. Perkins, Esq., of Norwich, to whom we subsequently addressed a letter of inquiry, and received an immediate reply that said Ward was an impositor, that he had recently been arrested in New London for obtaining goods under false pretences, and that he had no wife or children, to his knowledge.

Believing the cause will be best subserved by exposing such miserable deceivers, I am induced to forward thee this information, to do with it as thee thinks will best promote the cause of the oppressed.

I am, very truly, thy friend,
D. Mitchell

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

At a Convention of Women held in Salem in April last, it was resolved that we the women of Ohio will meet annually in Convention to consult upon and adopt measures for the removal of the various disabilities—political, social, religious, legal and pecuniary—to which women, as a class, are subjected, and from which result so much misery, degradation and crime.

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to issue a call and make necessary arrangements for the Convention of the present year.

As men and women have the same origin and destiny, and can therefore have no legitimate aims or interests independent of each other—as their relations and obligations are mutual—as the bonds that unite them are inevitable and indissoluble—as whatever degrades or ennobles one has a corresponding effect on the other—it is fitting that men should co-operate with us in our efforts at emancipation from the ignorance and thraldom of ages. We therefore cordially invite all the friends of Self-Government and Human Equality to meet in Convention at AKRON, Summit Co., on WEDNESDAY, 28th of May next, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

To all the friends of Reform, in whatever department engaged, we say—Come, give us your presence and counsel. Give it for the sake of our cause. Give it because none of the kindlier efforts to alleviate humanity can fully realize their objects while one-half of the laborers in Boston are disfranchised by law, perverted by education and degraded by the opinions and customs of society. War will continue to devastate the nations—Slavery, politicel and personal, will crush humanity—Intemperance and Sensuality will pollute the earth, while so much of the moral power which should be arrayed against them is lost by the position woman now occupies.

C. D. SMALLEY,
M. I. GILBERT,
E. ROBINSON,
Com. of Arrangements.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Plympton Town Hall, on Sunday, May 25, through the day and evening.

N. H. Whiting and Lucy Stone will be present.

BOURNE SPOONER, President.

H. H. Brigham, Secretary.

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Miscellany.

THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

"EARLY in the morning" is an indefinite term. The Covent-garden waggoner thinks it means one or two o'clock, A. M.,—the London exquisite interprets it as signifying a few hours before the afternoon; and, therefore, it would be of no use to attempt giving an idea of the time at which London was stirring yesterday by indulging in a phrase so convenient, but so ambiguous. Certain it is that people who had never before seen the sun rise, except through a ball-room window, were in full activity soon after dawn, impelled by the impulse which seemed to lend life and energy to the whole substance of the great and somewhat lethargic metropolis. Through the regions of Belgravia arose the clatter of horses' feet and carriagewheels, just as early as donkey-carts and pony-chaises rattled through the narrow streets of Clerkenwell and Lambeth. The arteries of the great city, surcharged with life, beat full and strong under the pressure of a great and hitherto unknown excitement. Never before was so vast a multitude collected together within the memory of man. The struggles of great nations in battle, the levies of whole races, never called forth such an array as thronged the streets of London on the 1st of May. When swarms of people poured from the loins of the north in a fierce migration, or when all the hosts of Asia were spread broadcast over the plains of Europe, their largest masses were not more numerous than the peaceful crowds who congregated around the great Temple of Industry and the avenues which commanded a view of a new Royal procession. The march of conquerers, and all the ceremonials that men have delighted to honor, left something bitter behind them in many a heart. The welling fount of glory has been too deeply tinged with the waters of sorrow to be drunk in self-contentment; but here was an occasion which might be celebrated by the whole human race without one pang of regret, envy, or national hate. Not London alone, but the large contingents furnished to its teeming population by every people under the sun, came out into the streets, the citizens leaving their dear household gods, 'Change, business; wharfs, counters, and shops, to make universal holiday, and our foreign friends aiding and abetting the apostacy with the utmost good humor. If a man ventured into the Strand or Holborn at 8 o'clock, with the intent to see the show, he felt half inclined to turn back with the idea that it would be useless to go where "all the world" would be before him. Down the cross streets—from Lincoln's-inn-fields, Camden-town, Kensington, Bayswater, Kennington, Islington, the City, Southwark, from the most remote suburb, by train, omnibus, cab, horse and foot, teemed those crowds some are fond of calling the masses, but in a spirit far different from that which their nomenclators ascribe to them. Coroneted carriages of all the species that Long-acre gives birth to, whatever runneth upon wheels, drove in continuous succession down unfrequented thoroughfares, or added to the natural obstructions so very properly devised, as appropriate to the season, by the Commissioners of Sewers, the various gas and water companies, and other public-spirited and publicly offensive bodies, in the most favorite highways. The tramp of men with wives and daughters on their arms, resounded from the pavement as they all trudged westward with happy and contented faces. Those honest English workmen, in their round fustian jackets and glazed caps felt that they had a right to take part in the honors of the day, and to have an honest pride in the result of their own and their brethren's labors, and they walked contentedly and happily, amid prancing horses and gaudy liveries. Strange-looking foreigners (not as many as might have been expected) passed along in the stream without the note and comment in which we are too wont to indulge at any deviation in costume or appearance from the mode prescribed at the time by popular taste Every variety of beard, moustache, hat, coat and trouser was permitted for the day, and Chinamen were not nearly so much stared at as the little red-coated shoe-blacks who have been established just as the dirty season is over by some philanthropic but not very weatherwise individuals. There was a dearth of Turks and turbans, and even Fez caps were not common, but the supply of beard, imperial, sallow faces, and eccentric head gear was liberal, though not unlimited. The sky looked rather omnious. Some ugly clouds floated about heavily,—now shining whitely, like great bales of wool in the sunshine—now darkening beneath its obscured light into heaps, threatening wet and discomfort to the sightseers. But they did not hate one jot of hope, for even Easter Monday had not intimidated them, and all flowed onwards to the parks in spite of passing showers. Numerous as were the people, in the space of the park, and in their own accommodating spirit, they found plenty of room, and with comparative comfort advanced in wave after wave, and carried on towards Kensington, or halted before Buckingham Palace. Here two lines of police were formed, which extended to Hyde Park, along Rotten-row, to the Exhibition, leaving a broad drive for carriages with a good margin for pedestrians. They were reinforced by the Life Guards, stationed two and two at long intervals, but those very effective line-keepers, their horses' heels, did not come much into request throughout the day.—However, the glancing of sword-blades, the flashing of helmet and cuirass in the sun, and the glare of the scarlet was pleasant to look upon, and served as a fine relief to the plain blue of the constabulary, and the plainer hues of those behind them. The crowd at the Palace was very dense, but thinned away up Constitution-hill, most people preferring a grand struggle and doubtful vison in Hyde Park to a quiet and certain view in St. James's. On coming out from under his Grace of Wellington's statue the placidity and regularity of the good-tempered tributary monarch who was going so loyally to see his Queen to the best advantage was somewhat disturbed by a violent rush of carriages down Piccadilly, notwithstanding the efforts of constables, who appeared determined on taking all the horses into custody.—As the rush seemed perpetual, however, "the source of all legitimate power" evaded it as best he might, and with great agility dodged broughams and chariots, horsemen and men on horses, till he got into the Park, where at last he had room enough to breathe. But he was scarcely of that opinion: not content with spreading himself many feet deep on both sides of Rotten-row, with perching on seats mounting on precarious platforms, getting up ladders, and running up the remotest eminences, he roosted in trees, invaded the roofs of the houses at Hudson's Straits and the Gore, and manned boats on the Serpentine, from which the view of the top of the Palace must have been uninterrupted and unlimited. Here was one of the finest points of view. Terminating a long vista through lines of trees walled in by human beings, with the grass, fresh from the late rains, stretching away in fine sheets of green, except where it was patched and blotted by great moving masses of citizens of the world, dressed in every garb from that of young France to old Gael, "the blazing arch of lucid glass" with the bright sun flaming on its polished ribs and sides shone like the Koh-i-Noor itself. Little flags fluttered cheerily along its entire length, their varied colors catching new splendor from the glittering surface, and never did the most fanciful of poets image a more glorious palace than plain, prosaic England, offered to the admiration of the world—the Hall of Elbis without its tortures. On the way to it the people were collected as closely as they could pack by the railings, but there was so much space they did not seem so resolved on suicide and manslaughter as they generally are on state occasions under less favorable circumstances. The display of activity was wonderful; any tree in the Park could have furnished a staff of "arcobats, "lofty tumblers," and "inimitable bottle-imps," to the most exigent of managers, and next to their feats of agility the thing most to be admired was the endurance and tenacity of even the feeblest looking twigs, which appeared to have been gifted with supernatural powers of endurance for that day only. About a quarter past 11 o'clock the sky lowered most unpleasantly, and a smart shower followed very speedily. This was succeeded by drizzling snatches of rain, which never damped the good spirits and cheerful mood of the people, or drove even the best bonnet from its post; but the clouds swept away after a time, and the sun came out between whiles, withdrawing speedily again, so as to make it uncertain whether he would not retire altogether. Just before 12 o'clock, however, the sun broke out steadily for a few minutes, the rain ceases altogether, and soon afterwards a vison of waving plumes and bright steel came scouring up the Row, to which the change of atmosphere gave a strange appearance. The heat of the sun, acting on the moist ground, produced a fluctuating haze or mist, through which the procession appeared in the same shifting uncertain light that you see in the magic lantern, and added an air of unreality to the scene, which its splendor was well calculated to encourage. Its reality was soon tested, for a line of caeriages swept past, and then came a troop of Life Guards at the trot, and the voices of the people hailed the Queen again and again with hearty cheers, as she came by bowing kindly and graciously. As the *cortege* drove up to the Palace, the reception of Her Majesty was enthusiastic, and she entered the building amidst a burst of genuine good feeling from the people outside,—the poor fellows in the trees taking it up and repeating it as though their lives depended on its force,—more grateful than the Royal flourish of trumpets and the rolling of drums which announced her arrival. The Queen seemed full of emotion at the greatness of the occasion and at the welcome, but she was soon lost within the walls of the Palace, and nothing was left to those outside but to amuse themselves as best they might by sham battles in the Park, indulging in *facetiæ* with individuals of some offensive peculiarity of feature or attire, or broad invective against the most bland-looking of the police. Presently loud cheers came from the interior of the building; then the strains of "God save the Queen," leaked out through its glass walls, and were repeated by a few of the people; then solemn silence—again a fine burst of voices and again a song of praise, then the roar of cannon from the Serpentine, the murmuring voices of the vast hordes that crowded its shores, the National Anthem again, the cheers repeated, and after a visit of an hour, the Queen reappeared at the threshold of the Exhibition again with the Prince by her side, full of pride and happiness, and drove off amid the warm demonstrations of her subjects to the Palace.

Soon after she arrived there Her Majesty made her appearance at one of the windows with the Royal children before the immense multitude, an act of condescension which gave them the highest gratification, and which could not have failed to cause pleasure to Her Majesty from the way in which it was acknowledged. As to the carriages, who shall compute their number? Any attempt to guess at the amount of people would have been ridiculous, unless one went up in the balloon which was floated up very majestically from some place to us unknown soon after the Queen's departure. The arrangements were admirable. No serious accidents that we heard of occurred during the day, and the temper and behaviour of the people cannot be too highly praised.

THE INTEROR.

The pageant of the State opening within the Crystal Palace is over, and it remains for us to describe it as best we can. That imposing ceremony was witnessed by some 25,000 spectators, who will each have his own account to give, his own tale to tell of its wonders. The same objects looked at from different points of view present different appearances, and the narratives of what took place on this memorable occasion must vary considerably, according to the position in which each historian of the great event found himself. Yet, however dissimilar they may be, we venture to assert that no one could have witnessed that extraordinary display without emotions of awe and solemnity. The anticipation of the Prince Consort has been fully realized, and the first impression which the State opening creates is "that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below," The moral grandeur of yesterday's inauguration raises it far beyond the level of all ordinary pageants, and with the recollection of it full upon us we hardly find courage to enter on a description which must necessarily fall so much short of the reality. Written words are powerless and weak in presence of that great muster of worldly magnificence—that stupendous act of homage to industry and the peaceful arts. Yet the task must be attempted. The vast area of the Exhibition, great as is the amount of accommodation it afforded, still leaves an immense margin of public curiosity to satisfy. When we left the interior on Wednesday afternoon the exhibitors had completed their part of the work, and though, as far as the display of contributions was concerned, all that was necessary for a successful opening had been accomplished, a very formidable extent of preparations remained unfinished. The whole area was still rough and encumbered with the signs of recent labor, nor was it fitting that in such a state the Royalty of England should appear on the scene. All night long, without intermission, Messrs. Fox and Henderson were busily engaged, and of the many tasks which they have accomplished since the work began, perhaps this last was the greatest. At an early hour yesterday morning all was in readiness. Exhibitors had not been cleared out of the building until the afternoon of Wednesday, and yet yesterday morning before 8 o'clock the centre of the transept and the approach from the north had been covered with red cloth. The route of the Royal procession had matting laid down over its entire length. Precautions had been taken to keep off the pressure of the crowd. The seats for ladies below and in the galleries were arranged. A robing room, most tastefully decorated, was run up with really magical speed by Messrs. Jackson and Graham, and the same firm also erected over the throne, at a height of 30 feet, a silken canopy, the magnificence and effect of which formed a subject of general admiration. At 8 o'clock, when we entered the interior, everything was in order. A profound stillness reigned over the vast area, and the eye rested with delight upon that charming variety of colors and those harmonious proportions which give to this palace of industry so remarkable and fairy-like a character. The public had not yet been admitted, and the members and officers of the executive, the contractors and their leading assistants, beside a few policemen and a stray red-coated Sapper the only occupants of the building. During the short hour of calm and quiet which succeeded, we made a hurried survey of the interior, to ascertain how far things were in order, how each foreign country presented itself at the nave in honor of the occasion, and how the different sections of our native industry that line the centre aisle on either side were arranged for this Royal opening. The survey was, on the whole, very satisfactory. Our own half of the building was thoroughly well arranged, and if some of the foreign compartments were behindhand, they had managed to neutralize the injury to the *coup d'œil* thus arising in the most skillful manner. No general ever covered a desperate retreat with more tact, for none but a practised eye could detect where the confusion existed. And now 9 o'clock came, and with it the opening of the Exhibition doors and the rush of visitors. They burst like great pent up tides into the building, and for a time swept everything before them. The placid calm of the interior—the decorative triumphs of Owen Jones—the ethereal lightness of construction—the mathematical proportions—the long rows of columns—the sweep of the galleries—the endless varieties of attractive objects collected in the nave—all these matters which one had time before to ponder over and admire, now disappeared as if by the wave of an enchanter's wand, and in their stead was only to be seen a rushing stream of spectators, mad with excitement, and desperately bent on getting the best possible seats. At a very early hour they had bestirred themselves, determined to be in time, and the consequence was that long before 9 o'clock all the doors of the exhibition were besieged by a mob of ladies and gentlemen, who of course rushed in with immense eagerness when at last allowed to do so. The crowd kept flowing in for more than an hour in such dense columns, that temporary barriers, placed by the Executive Committee to protect the space around the throne, were in part swept away, and the entire space of the nave seemed to be permanently in posession of the spectators. In this emergency Colonel Reid called out a party of Sappers, who soon restored order, and thus added one additional service to the many others which they have contributed for months past within the walls of the Exhibition. During all this time were occurring many curious episodes of individual distress. Gentlemen might be seen distracted about places for their wives and daughters, who added to their excitement by asking explanations of police passes which could not be explained, and by urgent entreaties to take up positions which were clearly not tenable. The longest lane has a turning, however, and the greatest confusion, with temper and management, soon subsides. About 10 o'clock, the police, materially assisted by the Sappers, succeeded in establishing order. Spectators gradually took up their places, and every proper and reasonable facility was afforded for the Royal progress around the nave of the building.

That the ceremonial of the opening may be distinctly understood, let us sketch as rapidly as possible the appearance of the interior about half-past 11 o'clock, when the doors closed and admission ceased. In the north half of the transept and grouped around the throne, were assembled the Royal Commission, Her Majesty's Ministers, the Executive Committee, the Diplomatic Corps, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, the Commissioners of Foreign Powers, the Special Commissioners, Dr. Lyon Playfair and Colonel Lloyd, the Architect, Mr. Paxton, the Contractors, Messrs. Fox and Henderson, and the principal officers of the Executive, including Mr Digby Wyatt, Mr. Owen Jones, and Mr. C. H. Wild. A list of the great and distinguished persons present would only be a repitition to the public of names with which they are familiar, and we, who have watched from the commencement the progress of this great undertaking, think it only justice, in describing an event such as that which occurred yesterday, that those who by their energy and skill have contributed to the success which has been accomplished should chiefly be remembered. Let us look at the assemblage for a few minutes and see what meaning we can gather from their movements. They are nearly all in Court dresses, and in some instances the experienced eye can detect the awkwardness of manner which such unwonted habiliments superinduce. While they chat together other characters appear on the scene. The Heralds come—a curious mixture of the ancient and the modern; one-half of their *personelle* strictly *a la mode*, the rest a tabard covered with mediæval escutcheons and devices. Notwithstanding recent retrenchments, the beef-eaters showed themselves yesterday in great strength, health, and corpulence; and some of them, for size, might bear comparison with the giant porter of "Queen Bess." Officers of the Household troops appeared on the scene at an early hour, their showy uniforms heightening the effect and giving brilliancy to the whole assemblage. The galleries which run along the northern half of the transept had been to some extent reserved for choristers and families of distinction. Almost the first person who arrived here was the Duke of Devonshire. His name is closely connected with the design and progress of the Exhibition, and his presence was recognized by a large number of persons. The next arrival that attracted any interest was that of the Duke of Wellington. It was his 82d birthday. As usual, he came early, and the loud cheers which announced his coming outside were enthusiastic and protracted as he took his place in the north-eastern gallery of the transept. Thence, after a short interval, he descended to the area below, and again his presence was hailed with repeated acclamations. After conversing for some time with the Marquis of Anglesey, he turned his attention to the practical men to whose well-directed skill and energy the magnificent display before him must be attributed. He complimented Mr. Fox and Mr. Paxton, and talked with them both for some time. He then conversed with Mr. Cobden, and was engaged in close confabulation with the Marquis of Anglesey when, to the immense amusement of everybody, a Chinese Mandarin, with a tail of fabulous length, appeared before them. He saluted them both in the Oriental style, and though he did not venture to exchange one observation with them he hovered around their chairs for some time, expressing by his looks the interest which he felt in the presence of persons so ditinguished. This live importation from the Celestial empire managed to reuder himself extremely conspicuous, and one could not help admiring the perfect composure and nonchalance of manner which distinguished him. He talked with nobody, yet he seemed perfectly at home, and on the most friendly terms with all. The great variety of uniforms and costumes worn by the assemblage collected in the space around the throne, and the remarkable manner in which the proportions and decorative arrangements of the building brought out their position, rendered the spectacle which the north side of the transept presented a very imposing one. Seated apart from the throng, and accompanied by his chaplains, might be observed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not far off the Bishop of Winchester, who, in the absence of the Bishop of London, appeared as senior suffragan of the province. The Lord Chancellor was also conspicuous in the assemblage, and our civic dignitaries, in their flaunting scarlet robes, enjoyed their full share of public attention. A chair selected from the Indian collection, and over which a magnificent scarlet velvet elephant cloth, richly brocaded, was placed as a covering, served as a Throne. In front of the raised dais on which it was placed rose the splendid crystal fountain of Mr. Osler, the appropriate centrepiece of a palace of glass. This object had previously been concealed from public view, and its beauty and artistic design captivated everybody. It is 27 feet high, contains four tons of chrystal, and is a work of which its exhibitor may well be proud. In the presence of more important matter, we cannot enter into a minute description of it, but we shall take the earliest opportunity of directing public attention to its classical design and finished workmanship. And now let us turn from the scene which the area of the north transept presented to the aspect of the building generally. After all, there is no decoration which a building can possess which equals that presented by a vast and well arranged assemblage of people. Living masses convey to a great structure a character of animation which no inanimate objects, however beautiful, can supply. The long lines of faces, lighted up with excitement, the varieties of expression, the diversities of dress and ornament, of themselves furnish subjects for inexhaustible reflection; and when these are so disposed that the fairer portions of humanity have the precedence and occupy the first rank, the scene presented appeals directly to the gallantry and enthusiasm of the spectator. So it was yesterday. The seats which on either side lined the nave and its galleries were reserved exclusively for ladies; and thus standing in the centre of the building, one could see stretching from that point east and west, north and south, long lines of elegantly dressed women, the verge and binding of an assemblage which comprised not less than 25,000 people.

It was originally contemplated that the centre of the nave should remain entirely unoccupied, but, as we anticipated, this arrangement was found, at the last moment, impracticable; and thus Her Majesty and the State procession were left to make their progress between living walls of loyal subjects and admiring foreigners, extending in long lines from one end of the building to the other. The hour hands of the clocks with which the Crystal Palace is decorated were approaching 12 when the faint huzzas of crowds outside announced that the Queen had arrived; the booming sound of a Royal salute from across the Serpentine struck faintly on the ear, and then a loud flourish of trumpets from the north gallery of the transept told that Her Majesty had entered the building. She was conducted at once to the robing room of which we have already spoken. Thence, after a short pause, and attended by her Court, she proceeded between flower stands and tropical plants, past the Colebrookdale gates, and the fountains and statuary with which that part of the edifice is adorned, to the throne in the centre. On her appearance the vast assemblage rose to welcome her, a burst of enthusiastic cheering broke forth from every side—ladies waved their handkerchiefs, gentlemen their hats, and the whole scene presented was one of unusual splendor. The sun, too, for a moment emerged from the envious clouds that for some time previously had dimmed his lustre, and a flood of light pouring in through the glittering dome of the transept illuminated this imposing spectacle of loyalty. When Her Majesty ascended the throne, attended by the Royal family and the distinguished visitors of her Court, the organ of Messrs. Gray and Davison pealed forth the notes of the National Anthem, and the immense choir collected for the occasion accompanied the strain. This produced a grand effect, and not a heart present could remain unmoved at a scene so touching and so sublime. His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, when the music had ceased, joined the Royal Commissioner, who drew near to the throne and read to Her Majesty a report of the proceedings of the Commission.....In this it is stated that £65,000 (about $325,000) is the amount of funds in the hands of the Commissioners, raised by voluntary contributions. The following interesting particulars are also given in the report:

"The number of exhibitors whose productions it has been found possible to accomodate is about 15,000, of whom nearly one-half are British. The remainder represent the productions of more than 40 foreign countries, comprising almost the whole of the civilized nations of the globe. In arranging the space to be allotted to each, we have taken into consideration both the nature of its productions and the facilities of access to this country afforded by its geographical position. Your Majesty will find the productions of your Majesty's dominions arranged in the western portion of the building, and those of foreign countries in the eastern. The Exhibition is divided into the four great classes of—1. Raw Materials; 2. Machinery; 3. Manufactures; and 4. Sculpture and the Fine Arts. A further division has been made according to the geographical position of the countries represented; those which lie within the warmer latitudes being placed near the centre of the building, and the colder countries at the extremities.

"Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant a site in this your Royal park for the purposes of the Exhibition, the first column of the structure now honored by your Majesty's presence was fixed on the 26th of September last. Within the short period, therefore, of seven months, owing to the energy of the contractors and the active industry of the workmen employed by them, a building has been erected, entirely novel in its construction, covering a space of more than 18 acres, measuring 1,851 feet in length, and 456 feet in extreme breadth, capable of containing 40,000 visitors, and affording a frontage for the exhibition of goods to the extent of more than 10 miles. For the original suggestion of the principle of this structure the commissioners are indebted to Mr. Joseph Paxton, to whom they feel their acknowledgments to be justly due for this interesting feature of their undertaking."

.....A gracious answer was returned by her Majesty to the report, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, approaching the throne, invoked a blessing on the undertaking in a fervent prayer, at its close the choir joined in singing the Hallelujah Chorus and the effect of this performance may be estimated from the fact that the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminister Abbey, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, contributed their entire vocal strength, while there were also present pupils of the Royal Academy of Music, part of the band of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and many other performers, both foreign and English. The vast area of the building left free scope for the volume of sound poured forth, and the assembled multitudes, their feelings already elevated by the grandeur of the spectacle before them, listened with becoming reverence to the triumphant music of the great German composer. It was at this stage of the proceedings that the Chinaman, already referred to, and whom we discover to be no less a person than the Mandarin Hesing of the Chinese junk, unable any longer to control his feelings, made his way through foreign diplomatists, Ministers of State, and the distinguished circle with which Court etiquette had surrounded the throne, and, advancing close to Her Majesty, saluted her by a grand salaam which she most graciously acknowledged.....The procession was then formed, the order of which we omit. It moved to the west end of the nave on the north side, and as it passed the glazed roof of the building vibrated with enthusiastic cheers. It was most curious to observe the manner in which the usual manifestations of enthusiasm were prolonged and carried forward with the progress of the pageant.—Down a deep lane of human beings, full of loyal expectancy, it passed—Her Majesty and the Prince, preceeded by the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain, their faces turned towards the Royal personages, and their feet performing that curious movement known only at Courts—namely, advancing backwards. The *coup d'œil* varied at every step, yet was always picturesque and beautiful. The foreign commissioners, whose labors had hitherto confined them to their own department of the Exhibition, gazed with wonder at the developement of British industry by which they found themselves surrounded. Even those most acquainted with the objects that lay on either side of the route were surprised by the new and undiscovered attractions which everywhere presented themselves. The Indian and Colonial collections were left behind, the Fine Arts' Court passed and the procession, cheered incessantly in its progress, moved into the area devoted to our many-featured manufacturing products. Glimpses were caught over the heads of the spectators on the right of the Furniture Court, and the massive forms of the fixed machinery beyond it. On the left the Colebrook-dale dome, the gigantic statues of Lords Eldon and Stowell, the well known form of our great dramatist, and the many other objects which adorned the centre aisle, were left behind. Past the furs of bears and other wild animals suspended from many a girder, and carpets lending their brilliant colors to complete the decorations and clothe the narrow lines of the interior, the pageant swept on its way. It reached the western entrance and saw itself, and the unequalled grandeur of the scene whereof it formed the leading feature, reflected in the immense mirror exhibited at this point. Then, wheeling round the model of the Liverpool Docks, it was returning on the south side of the nave, when the gigantic organ by Willis suddenly hurled forth its immense volume of sound. The effect was extremely fine, but there was so much to think of so many points to observe, and the admiration of all had already been so largely taxed, that each newtelling characteristic of the progress scarcely produced its deserved impression. Wonder had already attained its *maximum* and could rise no further. Displays of textile fabrics, of hardware, of cutlery and of furniture, vistas of courts and alleys filled with the richest materials—objects that at any other time would have been noticed with interest and regard—hardly claimed a moment's attention in that remarkable progress. Still upon the mind the grand impression left was the magnificence of the general spectacle, the loyalty of the great assemblage, the cordial understanding between the Sovereign and the flower of her people—above all, the hearty union of all classes in celebrating with becoming pomp this inauguration of a temple dedicated to industry and peace. At length the procession reached the transept, round the south end of which it proceeded, and then swept into the foreign department of the Exhibition. Here immense efforts had been made to prepare for its suitable reception. France had collected the choicest specimens of her manufacturers, and though only two days ago her division was in confusion and the possibility of her taking a suitable part in the opening pageant doubtful, one could not help admiring the tasteful manner in which her exhibitors had decorated the portion of their collection which was within sight. Other countries, more forward in their preparations, were of course able to make a more satisfactory appearance. The great attention which the industrial communities of Europe bestow on matters of artistic design and on ornamental manufactures enabled them to decorate their divisions of the nave in a manner more effective than we, with our utilitarian tendencies, could hope to achieve. Amid a rare collection of various objects the procession moved forward, received everywhere with loud acclamations. The French organ by Du Croquet, and that from Erfurt, by Schulze, each in turn poured forth its music; and as the pageant rounded the eastern end of the building the bands of the Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards varied the programme by their spirit-stirring strains. The return along the north side of the nave renewed the enthusiasm of the foreigners and visitors assembled there. The cheering and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs went on continuously around the building, and at last, having completed a progress more triumphant in its peacefulness and spirit of goodwill than the proudest warlike pageant that ever ascended the Capitol of ancient Rome, the Queen returned once more to the position in the transept where her throne was placed. She looked exceedingly well and bore the excitement of the occasion with a firmness worthy of herself and of the people she governs. The applause of the assemblage was acknowledged both by herself and the Prince in the most gracious manner. His Royal Highness appeared less composed than Her Majesty, and his emotion was visible when the ceremony and the procession had been happily conducted to its close. It was natural that he should feel strongly the termination of a spectacle, the grandest perhaps that the world ever saw, and with which his name and reputation are henceforth inseparably associated. He wore a field-marshal's uniform, and the Prince of Wales the Highland dress. Her Majesty was magnificently attired, but we are not learned enough in such matters to describe her toilet. The Royal children were objects of great attention, and the Prince of Wales received several special cheers from the assemblage.

And now the last act of the ceremonial remains to be recorded. The Marquis of Breadalbane, in a loud tone of voice, announced that the Queen declared "the Exhibition open." A flourish of trumpets proclaimed the fact to the assembled multitudes. The Royal family, attended by the Court, withdrew from the building, the choir once more took up the strain of the National Anthem, the barriers, which had hitherto restrained the spectators within certain limits, were withdrawn, and the long pent-up masses poured over every part of the building, unrestrained by policemen, and eager to gratify their curiosity.

Such was the State opening of the Great Exhibition—a pageantry which no one who witnessed it can ever forget, and which is stamped on the history of this age and country in characters which will not easily be effaced. Those who have indulged in sinister predictions of danger arising from this undertaking have at least thus far been false prophets.—Nothing could exceed the goodhumour and disposition to be pleased visible over every part of the building. Republicans and anarchists may be made monarchical by such influence as the ceremony of yesterday exerts, but there seems little prospect of any political movement in the opposite direction.—*Abridged from The (London) Times.*

THE VILLAGE OF HUMDRUM.

MAN is still in bondage to the elements; and since the beastly maxim is even now prevalent that the strong should take care of themselves, and use the weak as their tools, though to the manifest injury of the weak, the use of machinery has been but a trifling boon in comparison with what it may be.

In the village of Humdrum, its thousand able-bodied men and women, without machinery, and having no intercourse with the rest of the world, must work fourteen hours out of the twenty-four that they may all be housed, fed and clothed, warmed, instructed, and made happy. Some ingenious hands invent water-mills, which saw, plane, thrash, grind, spin, weave, and do many other things, so that these thousand people need work but five hours in the day to obtain the result of fourteen by the old process. Here, then, a vast amount of time—nine hours in the day—is set free from toil. It may be spent in study, social improvements, the pursuit of a favorite art, and leave room for amusement also.

But the largest heads at Humdrum have not Christian, but only selfish, hearts beating in their bosom and sending life into the brain. So these calculators think the men of Humdrum shall work fourteen hours a-day as before. It would be dangerous, say they, to set fire to so much time. The deluded creatures would soon learn to lie and steal, and would speedily end by eating one another up. It would not be Christian to leave them to this fate. Leisusre is very good to us but would be ruinous to them. So the wise men of Humdrum persuade their neighbors to work the old fourteen hours, more is produced than is consumed. So they send off the superfluities of the village, and, in return, bring back tea, and porcelain, rich wines and showy gewgaws, and contemptible fashions that change every month.

The strong-headed men grow rich, live in palaces; their daughters do not work, nor their sons dirty their hands. They fare sumptuously every day—are clothed in purple and fine linen. Meanwhile the common people of Humdrum work as long as before the machines were invented, and a little harder. They are also blest by the 'improvements.' The young women have red ribbons on their bonnets, French gloves on their hands, shawls of India on their shoulders, the 'tinkling ornaments' in their ears. The young man of Humdrum is better off than his father who fought through the Revolution, for he wears a beaver hat and a coat of English cloth, and has a Birmingham whistle, and a watch in his pocket. When he marries he will buy red curtains for his windows, and a showy mirror to hang on his wall. For these valuable considerations, he parts with the nine hours a day which machinery has saved; but has no more bread than before. For these blessings he will make his body a slave, and leave his mind all uncultivated. He is content to grow up a body—nothing but a body. So that if you look therein for his understanding, imagination, reason, you will find them like three grains of wheat in three bushels of chaff, you shall seek them all day before you find them, and at last they are not worth your search.

At Humdrum nature begins to revolt at the factitious inequality of condition, and thinks it scarce right for bread to come fastest into hands that add nothing to the general stock. So many grow restless, and a few pilfer. In a ruder state crimes are few—the result of violent passion. At Humdrum they are numerous—the result of want, indolence, or neglected education: they are in a great measure crimes against property. To remedy this new and unnatural evil, there rises a court house and a jail, which must be paid for in work; then judges and lawyers and jailors are needed likewise, in this artificial state, and add to the common burden.

The old Athenians sent yearly seven beautiful youths and virgins as a tribute to the Monitaur.—The wise men of Humdrum shut up in jail a large number, a sacrifice to the spirit of modern cupidity: unfortunate wretches were the victims and foes of society; men so weak in head or heart, that their bad character was formed *for* them, through circumcumstances, far more than it was formed *by* them, through their own free will. Still further, the men who violate the law of the body, using the mouth much and the hands a little, or in the opposite way, soon find nature taking vengeance for the offence. Then unnatural remedies must oppose the artificial disease. In old time, every sickly dance was cured 'with mother-wort and tansy,' which grew by the road side, suited all complaints, and was administered by every mother in the village. Now Humdrum has it 'Medical Faculty,' with their conflicting systems, homœopathic, allopathic—but no more health than before. Thus the burden is increased to little purpose.

The strong men of Humdrum have grown rich and become educated. If one of the laboring men is stronger than his fellows, he, also, will become rich, and educate his children. He becomes rich not by his own work, but by using the hands of others whom his cunning overreaches. Yet he is not more avaricous than they. He has perhaps the average share of selfishness. So he gets and saves, and takes care of himself—a part of their duty which the strong have always known how to perform; though the more difficult part—how to take care of others, to think for them and help them to think for themselves—they have yet to learn, at least to practice.

Alas, we are still in bondage to the elements, and so long as two of the 'enlightened' nations of the earth, England and America, insist on weaving the garments for all the rest of the world, not because they would clothe the world, but that their strong men might live in fine houses, wear gay apparel, dine on costly food, and their mouths be served by other men's hands—we must expect that seven-tenths of mankind will be degraded, and hug their chains, and count machinery an evil. Is not the only remedy for all the evils at Humdrum the Christian idea of wealth, and the Christian idea of work?—*London Reasoner.*

A "NEW MAN" IN EUROPE.

THE German papers received by the last arrival, abound in descriptions of a pretended representative of a new race of men, who has suddenly shown himself in the midst of the civilized society of Europe. A writer in the *London Leader* gives this account of the phenomena;

"The story, as related in the *Correspondenz* of Berlin, attests, that a stranger was picked up at the end of last year, in a small village of the district of Lebas, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, whither he had wandered no one could tell whence. Such a circumstance could hardly have piqued curiosity in another country, but to a people fond of speculation, and situated far away from the great highways of the world there was something strange and startling in the fact that the stranger spoke German imperfectly, and had all the marks of a Caucasian origin. Whether the man was a common impostor, and tricked the village authorities, or whether these men began in their usual way to construct a history for him, 'out of the depths of their moral consciousness,' is uncertain; at all events they looked on him as a great prize, and carried him off to Frankfort On being questioned by the burgomaster of that enlightened city, the stranger said his name was Jophar Vorin, and that he came from a country named Laxaria, situated in the portion of the world called Sakria.

He understands, it is affirmed, none of the European languages, (except, we must suppose, the broken German,) but reads and writes what he calls the Laxarian and Abramian tongues. The latter he declares to be the written language of the clerical order in Laxaria, and the other the common language of his people. He says that his religion is Christian in form and doctrine, and that it is called Ispatian.—Laxaria he represents to be many hundred miles from Europe, and separated by vast oceans from it. His purpose in coming to Europe, he alleges, was to seek a long lost brother; but he suffered shipwreck on the voyage—where, he does not know—nor can he trace his route on shore on any map or globe. He claims for his unknown race a considerable share of geographical knowledge. The five great compartments of the earth he calls Sakria, Aflar, Aslar, Auslar, and Euplar. The sages of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, after much examination of the tale and its bearer, have come to the conclusion that it is true. Some men believe things because they are incredible However, Jophar Vorin has been carefully despatched to Berlin, and is now the subject of much scientific and curious gossip in the Prussian capital. What mystifications hide under the story, time will probably show."

This story immediately brings to mind a great many other similar appearances which have taken place from time to time, to puzzle philosophers for a while, and then fall into oblivion. There was the famous Princess of Caribou, in England, who spoke an unknown tongue, and created the greatest enthusiasm, until it was discovered that she was a native of Devonshire. Peter, the wild boy, was doubtless a genuine foundling of the forest, for he made no pretensions, and could give no account of himself. Caspar Hausar, too, though supposed by many to be an imposter, would seem rather, from the latest accounts, to have been a victim to one of the European noble families, which, unwilling to put him out of existence altogether, subjected him to the long and brutifying imprisonment he endured. The famous Count Cagliostro, though a stupendous imposter, must have been acquainted with some of the secrets of animal magnetism and clairvoyance, to render his reported adventures and supernatural claims at all credible.

But the greatest of these new men was George Psalmanazar, of whom the *Leader* condenses an account from *the Revue des Deux Mondes.*

Psalmanazar was a Frenchman. He wandered through Europe, by turns a cheat, a pilgrim, a Protestant, a Catholic, a merchant, a pedler, and a soldier, and thus became a master in the art of working upon human credulity for his own benefit. Experience having taught him that it is easier to excite sympathy for strangers than for those whom we see daily, he chose a distant locality as his birth-place, and called himself a Japanese exile, born in the island of Formosa. By continual repetition of his adventures, he ended by believing them himself, and gave his fellow soldiers daily more and more dramatic narratives of his Japanese and Formosan life. He one day attracted the notice of a shrewd Protestant chaplain, who converted him; the willing convert was taken to the Bishop of London, and loaded with favors and money. Our Japanese friend had too much tact not to continue so profitable a deception. He not only ate raw flesh and roots, but invented a Formosan alphabet and language, into which he translated the Bible, wrote a detailed description of the island of Formosa, its history and customs, with a map, an engraved alphabet, costumes, temples, public buildings, and several portraits of the natives, former friends of Psalmanazar, (a Japanese name of his own coining.) He abused the French and the Roman Catholics, who were no favorites of the English, and the more he abused them, the more abundantly money poured in for him. He gave lessons in the Formosan tongue, to several devout women, and brought them Formosan love poems, which enraptured them. The worthy Bishop of London was meditating the establishment of a professor's chair, which he thought would be most useful to English missions, and of great help in the conversion of the heathen. Pious ladies furnished Psalmanazar with a very handsome dress. From time to time he was attacked, but only in free-thinking newspapers, held in low estimation. Every true Englishman obstinately believed in the lies of the converted Japanese; a novel which he wrote went, through six editions, and gave him a position of some importance in the literary world. At last, having secured himself from want by his writings, and a small pension from government, he became an honest man, repented his Formosan lies, and wished to make a recantation of them; but his religious friends interfered, fearful of the ridicule which they would have to endure. Psalmanazar contented himself with writing a fresh account of Formosa, drawn from true sources, and meant to rectify his former fictions. At the age of ninety-three, he wrote his confessions, which the Calvanistic party suppressed. He enjoyed public respect and admiration to the end of his days, but never revealed the name of the French family to which he belonged.—*Evening Post.*

WILLIAM PENN'S CONVERSION TO QUAKERISM.

Penn did not remain long in London. His father, anxious to keep him apart from his old Puritan friends—and to sustain the habit of devotion to his temporal interests into which he seemed gradually talling, sent him again into Ireland. He had no suspicion that the enemy of his peace lay in ambush at the very gates of his stronghold. But the youth had not resided more than a few months at Shanguerry Castle before one of